

# St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly

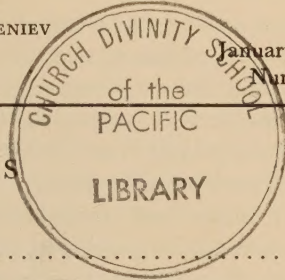
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## SOME INTRODUCTORY WORDS

**I**N THIS, our present world, torn by strife and hatred and threatened by the danger of total destruction, the voice of the Christian Message resounds with unrelenting force: the message of the Victory of the Risen Lord. He is the Lord of Life and Lord of the historical process—being the fulfilment of the household-plan of God. The Eastern Orthodox Church, notwithstanding all the weaknesses and shortcomings of its members and the fact that the numerically leading local Orthodox Church—the Russian, has been subjected to direst persecutions and deepest humiliations from the hands of a militant atheistic Government, the Orthodox Church, in spite of all losses in political prestige, in power, in means of religious education, or perhaps just because of that, feels herself in those times of world-crisis especially bound to proclaim this common Message of Christianity: the Victory of the Lord! The common message of all Christianity—because this is the essence of the Good Tidings; but the Eastern Orthodox Church always in its worship and in the life of its Saints and Just, clung and does cling, now with special, utmost emphasis, to these tones of Johannine contemplation and Johannine jubilation: “We have seen . . . His Glory”. “This is the Victory that has vanquished the World: even our Faith”.

The reality of the breaking through, of the irruption of Life Eternal into this, our life and into the life of the whole Creation and the whole Cosmos: “we have heard, we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have touched—and this was Life Eternal”, the historical Reality of this breaking through of Life Eternal into our life and of the Victory of Life Eternal over Death and Evil and the Devil—this must be always born in mind. Without that, there is no Christianity, that is the Spirit animating the whole apostolic preaching and this is also the deepest, the most essential and central inspiration for the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Under this banner — the proclamation of the Victory of God in Christ our Lord—let us therefore perform our task of Christian preaching and Christian Scholarship and research work. And this banner is also the rallying-point for all those “who invoke the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place, theirs and ours” (*I Cor. 1, 2*), in the hope and the confidence that once, through the grace of God, we all might become again one flock under One Shepherd.

Let us close with an apostolic word which we have to bear in mind as the norm and the inspiration for all Christian education and missionary work, “he logike latreia” (*Rom. 12*), the service of the Word by the power of the Word. To the glory of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. — N.A.



# Trying the Spirits

NO ONE would probably deny that since the end of the First World War the situation of Orthodoxy in the world has changed so deeply, that in order of importance, this change can be compared only with the crisis that followed the collapse of Byzantium in 1453. Now as then we are at a turning point of our history. The fall of the Russian Empire, replaced by an universal center of anti-Christian Communism, the radical political and social changes in the Middle East — the traditional center of Orthodoxy, the tragical conditions of Church life in Eastern Europe, the appearance of a world wide Orthodox diaspora — such are at least some of the major factors of the change. They created a new situation, wholly different from that to which the Orthodox were so accustomed as to believe it forever unchangeable. When the crisis came, the Orthodox Church was not prepared for it, and there resulted a state of confusion, which one has to admit before any creative effort is made to overcome it. This confusion is discernable in all spheres of church life: it affects its canonical structure, its worship, its educational activities, and, above all, its spiritual growth. We are confused about the basic canonical issues: that of "jurisdiction", that of clergy-laity relationship, that of the unity of the Orthodox Church. We are confused about the Ecumenical movement and the attitude towards it, we are confused about modern scientific theories and philosophies — we cannot discern their truth from their falsehood, just as we fail to evaluate in the light of our faith and our tradition some of the contemporary "ways of life" and educational methods.

In reaction to this confusion, two tendencies, two attitudes are noticeable among the Orthodox. There are those, for whom this new situation is like a bad dream, which, when it comes to an end, will be miraculously replaced by a state of spiritual security that even in the past has never existed. Therefore nothing is required but preservation and artificial isolationism. Any attempt to even look at the present, to try to understand it in the light of Orthodoxy is condemned as "modernism" and a betrayal of Tradition. Such people do not notice that Orthodoxy has ceased to be "eastern" (at least in the geographical sense of the word) and limited to a few eastern nations as their national religion. They do not realize the real dimensions of the social, economic and technological changes, the challenge of the "modern world". For them Orthodoxy is not only the "past" but first of all an escape from the present, with all its responsibilities and problems. . . . There are those, on the other hand, for whom the only possible criterion of their religion is precisely this modern world and its way of life. Whatever in the Orthodox Tradition does not fit into it has to be abandoned. Here, it is no

longer the truth and the tradition that evaluate the situation, but they have to be themselves evaluated and judged in the terms of this situation. Blind conservatism and superficial modernism are fighting each other, not noticing that they share in the same sin: that of idolatry. The idol of the past, the idol of the present, but ultimately the same idol, the same rejection of Orthodoxy as Living Tradition, transcending all times and all situations, and yet called to transform all of them, and to preserve through all of them, the fulness of the Church.

What we need today, above everything else, is an effort of spiritual discernment, the gift of "trying the Spirits whether they are of God" (*1 John* 3, 4). There is a strong temptation to solve all our problems on the practical level; but there is no practical problem in the Church that ought not be reduced ultimately to its spiritual meaning in order to be solved. And this is why our real need is the revival of theology. For theology is precisely this "reading of tradition" and "trying of spirits", and the ever renewed interpretation and proclamation of the Truth to this given generation, in this particular situation. That is what theology meant for the great Fathers of our Church: a living answer to a vital need. We must make ours their spirit, their belief in the transforming power of Divine Truth, their pastoral care for human souls, their unconditioned loyalty to the Church.

—A. S.



# Meaning and Goal of History

NICHOLAS S. ARSENIIEV

## I.

IS THERE A SENSE in the historical process? Do we see and recognize it? If we do, it is only partially, in a very unsufficient way. We see (I mean, if we believe in God—if we believe in God as manifested in Jesus Christ) only glimpses of this ultimate meaning, only hints pointing to it, dimly and hazily imperfect hints. The mass and the maze of the individual facts as to their ultimate sense escapes our understanding. So what we see, is only a ray of light in darkness, but a ray of light which is perhaps sufficient to guide us.

It is clear that the meaning and sense of History depends on the end or the goal towards which it moves. If the end is only a catastrophe, or a series of repeated catastrophes, a destruction of all life, the falling into pieces of our Universe, then of course no sense whatever is given. For a sense that is engulfed by nothingness, by utter destruction and chaos, is no sense at all. If there is a sense, it must be a deeper sense, rooted deeper, rooted in Something that is beyond destruction, that remains safe and unshaken and immutable. But is there a Something that remains untouched by the process of permanent passing away of all things, by their rushing into the abyss of annihilation? With other words: is the image of the world as familiar to us and as open to scientific investigation, really *all* that exists, or—to put it better—is it really that what the world really is? All these innumerable worlds, and systems of worlds, all subject to falling asunder, to decomposition and to destruction, is that the real world, the real face of Reality? Or perhaps is it only a shadow—certainly strongly substantiated, certainly very well-founded (compare: “*phaenomenon bene fundatum*” of Leibnitz)—*projected* before our eyes and mind? Perhaps the destruction, the falling asunder, the flowing away, the being engulfed without possible escape in the abyss . . . concerns only the shadow, and the real Reality is not touched thereby or touched only indirectly (as far as the Reality may be interested even in the destiny of its projected shadow)? That of course would change the whole outlook: if there is no final destruction of all that is, then of course there is a sense, a meaning, a goal, even in the changes of the shadow projected by the Reality that stands beyond it.

Do we mean thereby only the Divine Reality, or is there also a *real face of things*, concealed to us, of which we only get—and that rarely—a few glimpses, but turned towards God? And this ultimate face of things cannot

be utterly destroyed, because God has created it, and God sustains it, and in God it has its source of being and God will "deliver it from its bondage to corruption into the freedom and glory of the children of God"? If so, then there is an undestructible and abiding sense and meaning of History, in spite of all the catcylsms, of the most radical and total destruction. It does not concern the inward face, the inward being of things, the inward being of the Universe, that remains standing before the face of God. And hereupon the ultimate sense of History is grounded.

## II.

The real face, the real essence of things—that is the Christian conception—although founded and harboured in God, is in a process of becoming, of a historical becoming which comprises the fall and the ascension, the reintegration, restoration of Man and Universe. The march of the movement is Godwards, but not on a direct line, as perhaps it could be and was meant to be. It is an ascension, a rehabilitation after a catastrophe, after a spiritual catastrophe. This is the Christian idea, the Christian scheme of history: a tending to God, in weakness and imperfection, after a fall, or rather only a dim longing and groping for God with no power virtually to attain Him and then—the Redemption, the help, the New Life coming *from God* through the inrush of *God Himself* into history, into the very texture of our life, of our destiny and our being. This is the "*oikonomia*", the "household-plan" of God, according to St. Paul. And then begins the way homewards—in manly strife and struggle against spiritual foes, the way of ascension: through the sharing in the Cross and in the victory of the Son of God who became Man. So history of Man and that of the world is full of tension, is dramatic. And there is dramatism behind the screen of visible history, a greater dramatism than we are aware of—on the level of the spiritual Reality. Thus we see a drama, a struggle and a victory, a Victory that has been already won, but is not fully realized in all its consequences, because it has still to work as a "leaven" in the historical process and in the life of the Cosmos.

The spiritual drama and the catastrophe, the fall explains the projection of the "shadow". This "shadowy", or rather fallen world is very real, and the Evil that reigns therein, and the process of dying and of suffering and of flowing away is very real, but that does not affect the ultimate roots of the World, the face that is turned toward God. The real and ultimate essence of the world is still fettered by the "bondage of corruption", but this "bondage of corruption" is not the last word; as it has not been the primordial one, for the "bondage of corruption" has been already overcome by the victory of the Son of God.



So history is a drama, not only in "cosmical" dimensions, on a cosmical level, but much more than that: in spiritual dimensions, on a spiritual level which goes beyond the cosmical and is the root thereof. Yet History, this drama, is not a phantasmagoria: the spiritual level on which this real drama of history is developing, is very real, and the "shadow" projected in our so-called reality, is also real, although of a derivative reality. So the meaning, the sense of history is in the spiritual strife, affecting also the outward world, yet—going on in this outward world and centering in the Redemption. And the Redemption redeems the world in all its dimensions, and has really taken place on our Earth, because the Word of God became Flesh and offered Himself in obedience to the Father and really died on the cross and really rose from the physical death in His real, but glorified human body. And now the forces of this Redemption are working in the world and shaping history. Therefore the word "shadow" for our physical world, which we have used in this chapter, is unadequate and misleading. It was useful to us, as it showed the derivative character of the so-called world, but it is inadequate, because it did not sufficiently stress its reality, be it though a derivative one. So we see the purport of the drama is spiritual *and* outward, concrete, historical; it is spiritual *and* physical as well. And the fate of the physical Cosmos, of our physical Earth, of our physical and psychical civilization is not something despicable and unimportant (so it would be from an ultra-idealistic or an ultra-mystical—acosmic point of view), but on the contrary, of the utmost importance for the general meaning and trend of the world drama: "instaurare omnia in Christum"—to subject all things under His feet. The goal of the world drama is the ultimate victory of God, and the free ultimate subjection and surrender of all Creature to God through Man. But this victory of God concerns all the elements, all the aspects, all the stages and levels of the Creation.

The sense of history is the final and decisive release of this world—in this its fallen "cosmical" aspect—from the bondage to corruption. That is also the ultimate sense of all that was and is going on before our eyes on our earth, because all the struggles and politics on Earth are the reflection of the spiritual strife or of the degradation of the creature and its "bondage". The aim of this human history is and was to outstep itself, which aim has become possible by the breaking through of Life Eternal into history. The meaning of history can be therefore measured by its relation to the Life Eternal which broke through into history, and by its relation to the ultimate goal, i.e., the supreme and full manifestation of this Victory and Plenitude of Life Eternal, which has become Flesh and has "lived among us" (*eskinosen en himin*).

### III.

The Christian philosophy of history is conceived *from a centre*, from a definite, concrete centre. In the "fulness of time" (to plioroma tou chronou, *Gal. 4:4*) God has been revealed in Flesh in an unique and decisive way, sanctifying soul and body, the whole texture of life, giving a centre, a sense and a goal to the whole process of history. From the Christian point of view there is no senselessness in history: all parts of the historical periphery are in some relation—however obscure and invisible it be to us—to the central event of the world's history: the incarnation, the suffering and the victory of the Divine Logos.

In older times there were in ancient religions dim forebodings, yea, even expectations of the coming decisive fact of human—and also cosmical—history. The pagan religions in their glimpses of truth, which are deeply interwoven with masses of sometimes most repulsive superstitions, in those scattered glimpses and rays of Truth, those religions, I say, are pointing towards something beyond them. So are also to a large extent, the sometimes so deeply moving philosophical and religious yearnings of many old religious thinkers. It is not for nothing that the Christian writers Justin the Philosopher and Clemens of Alexandria spoke of the "seeds of the Divine Logos" scattered through the world and operating in the hearts of Socrates and Heraclites. From the Christian point of view, if there is a real Redemption that has taken place in history, all in history before and after that fact must stand in some connection therewith, be it positive or negative. It is the inspiring moving force of History. As it is depicted in those beautiful old Advent chants of the Latin Church—there is a yearning running through the history of mankind, the history of our Earth, the yearning for the coming of the Saviour: And His coming is an answer from Above to this yearning. "Rorate coeli desuper . . . Aperiat terra, et germinat Salvatorem!" The Christian has the right to consider all the previous development in the history of mankind, as "Preparation to the Gospel"—*praeparatio evangelica*—, as it has been formulated by an ancient Church writer. "Lo, I send My messenger before Thy face in order to prepare Thy way before Thee"—these words of the prophet Malachi applied by the Gospel-writers to designate the role of John the Baptist, could be used also in a wider sense. A Russian religious philosopher, a great Christian also—Prince Serge Troubetzkoy, has dedicated his life to the tracing out of the presentiments in the ancient world of the revelation of the Divine Logos. The difference between the religious ideas, the religious experiences of the ancient pre-Christian world and the Christian revelation is an immense one. But the chief difference is not on the plane of ideas only, it is much more than that: here, in the Christian revelation, we have the *fulfillment*, the fulfillment of the plan of God, the fulfillment of the



best and highest yearnings of mankind. Tetelestai—"it is consummated", those last words uttered by Christ on the Cross, according to the Fourth Gospel (19:30), can be written as an epigraph over the whole apostolic message. What the kings and prophets wanted to see and to hear and could not, now it is here, among us. "Blessed are therefore your eyes and your ears!" For the Bridegroom is here among us, the Kingdom of Heaven is near at hand, yea, it is amidst you. The Plenitude has been revealed: "In Him all the Plenitude of God abode corporally" (*Colos.*, 2:9). So the whole historical outlook, all the historical valuations are changed, they are conditioned by their relation to the Plenitude that has been revealed. The flow of time is not any more a return of the same numberless circles—neither is it a being engulfed by the abyss of mutability into which the stream rushes down without halt, hopelessly, irretrievably. This flow of time becomes rather a streaming forth towards God, a hallowing of the earthly and the created by the leaven of the Divine, by the Divine Plenitude that entered our earthly life and history and gave sense to History.

#### IV.

If the Incarnation of the Logos of God is the centre for all past and present history, it is also the central fact deciding the future. The Christian expectation of the end, of the final and decisive consummation of the Victory of God, is a most inalienable part of the Christian message. We know what immense role the eschatological hopes and expectations have played in primitive Christianity. There has been a very strong tendency among many theologians of the first part of the XXth century to ascribe to the eschatology such a predominant place in the primitive Christian outlook, that all other aspects thereof become obscured. There was a tendency to oppose the "mystical" sense of the Divine Presence to eschatology as two different currents in early Christian faith and experience. Nothing could be more unjustified. Both things are in the closest way connected with one another, they are two sides of one experience. It is the overpowering experience of the redeeming action of God, of the "household-plan" of God (*oikonomia tou Theou*) the outflow of His immense and boundless bounty, in which all has been foreseen—also our freedom which is included in this plan, which is one of the pivots of this plan—and where all the obstacles to its fulfillment turn at the end to be instruments for the greater manifestation of the all-overcoming majesty and justice and loving kindness of God. This plan necessarily connects past, present and future, because it bridges over the whole process. So without the ultimate revelation of His glory and His victory the plan and the redeeming action of God remains incompleted. But more than that: the experience of the "immense riches" given in Christ, the boundless "love

of Christ", that "transcends all understanding", takes hold of us. It is a mystical overflow in which all is submerged by this supreme boon possession: Christ — even in pain and suffering, nay, especially in pain and suffering. But this overflow *asks for more and more*: for a still closer connection, a still greater surrender, a still more intimate union with Christ. "I have the desire to be released (from life) and to be with Christ", says Paul, although the same Paul had already proclaimed: "Not I live forthwith, but Christ lives in me". This experience of the living union with Christ cries for still greater consummation, for a perfection which takes hold of our body as well as of our soul. We are called to take part in His risen life and we are expecting with yearning the coming fulness of manifestation of His glory and His power—so "that this body of our humiliation should become like to the body of His glory". "We are moaning, desiring for sonship and for the redemption of our body."

The mystical overflow—in the earnestness and sobriety of the co-crucifixion with Christ—demands for the completeness of the union with Christ. Thus the mystical experience is the necessary presupposition of Christian eschatology. And the Redemption is not perfect, if it does not work in us and in the whole creation till "all the creature is liberated from the bondage to corruption into the freedom and glory of the children of God". Eschatological tension and—mystical possession complete each other, they are necessary links of *one* experience. My mystical union with Christ has to reshape me completely, also my mortal body, and demands as its necessary completion the total and final Victory and Presence of God—"God all in all". There is no Christianity without this expectation. As there is no Christianity without the acceptance of the *historical* revelation of God, of the historical facts in which God has been revealed—I mean the central and unique revelation of the Divine Logos that became Flesh—so likewise there is no Christian faith and Christian outlook without the fervent hope for the coming plenitude of the revelation of God, which means that the historical process, the household-plan of God concerning the whole of creation shall attain its perfection, its fulfillment—on the bosom of the Heavenly Father. That is the meaning and the goal of History: the travelling home — not only of us, but of the whole creation — and . . . *final Transfiguration*. But the decisive victory of God has already been won, and that in history.



# St. Mark of Ephesus and the Theological Conflicts in Byzantium

REV. ALEXANDER SCHMEMANN

THE NAME of Mark Eugenicus, Archbishop of Ephesus, is indissolubly linked with the history of the Council of Florence. Subsequent generations have remembered him above all as the only Byzantine representative who refused to sign the Act of Union with the Roman Church; to the great majority he still remains a symbol rather than a real person: a symbol, in the eyes of Eastern Christians, of uncompromising loyalty to Orthodoxy; for the West, the personification of Byzantium's fanatical hatred of the Latins. And this attitude to Mark, in which passions have played so large a part, has survived to the present day. Indeed, *mutatis mutandis*, one could apply to Mark the words which a contemporary historian has used to describe the posthumous fame of the Patriarch Photius: "admirateurs qui poussent son culte jusqu'à l'idolâtrie, detracteurs qui ne peuvent parler sans colere du moindre de ses actes . . . on les trouve jusqu'aujourd'hui".<sup>1</sup> And although Mark was not destined to become a victim of the same kind of "legend" which obscured for centuries the true face of Photius, and which Professor Dvornik's recent work has so brilliantly exposed,<sup>2</sup> it is true, nevertheless, that in the previous studies of his life and work polemical and apologetic considerations have played a predominant part.

As far as possible, I shall endeavour in this paper, to approach Mark of Ephesus from a non-polemical angle, without that burden of passionate accusations and equally passionate praise that has always clung to his name. The time has hardly yet come for a full appraisal of his life and work, for a definitive assessment of his place in late Byzantine history. His writings, fairly numerous as they are, are still as a whole very imperfectly known. For reasons which must be sought in those very polemics that have always surrounded his person, only those of his works which are directly related to his controversy with the Latins and to his struggle against the Union of Florence are adequately known and really accessible.<sup>3</sup> Of his other writings, a few are scattered in little known and often inaccessible publications; by far the greater number are still unpublished.<sup>4</sup> The few existing monographs and articles devoted to Mark are practically limited to discussions of his role at the Council of Florence and his subsequent struggle against the Union.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, except for this one aspect of his activity, his life and work are almost unknown, and in the case of Mark we are still in the earliest stage of any historical work, that of collecting and arranging the material. Professor Baynes, however, has recently reminded us of the definition of the historian's task: "a continual putting of questions", not so much solving, but rather asking the right—the suggestive questions.<sup>6</sup> It is a question of this kind that I should like to ask here concerning Mark. I believe that it is justifiable to ask it: for not only did Mark play a prominent role in the history of the Byzantine Church at one of its most critical moments; a study of his personality and work, I am convinced, could also increase our knowledge of one of the least known periods of late Byzantine history. And though I am obliged to limit myself to a few fragmentary remarks, and to considerations that will sometimes appear hypothetical, it is perhaps true to say that, in the present stage of our knowledge, without such hypotheses, without "putting the questions", we cannot hope to advance towards a solution.

Nearly the whole of Mark's life was spent in struggle and controversy. His polemics with the Latin Christians and with the so-called *Latinofronoi* (to use a term by which the members of the Unionist party were nicknamed by their Byzantine opponents) are only one aspect of this struggle. It is important to realize that the very problem of Union—more precisely of reunion—with the Western Church was only one phase of a long series of "ideological" conflicts, only one aspect of that curious polarization of Byzantine opinion, which can be traced throughout the entire history of the East Roman Empire. These conflicts have long interested and preoccupied Byzantinists. I will only mention in this connection Uspensky's important work "Studies in the History of Byzantine Culture",<sup>7</sup> and the recent attempt by Professor Dvornik to trace the origin of the opposing parties in Byzantium.<sup>8</sup> In this perspective the Council of Florence and the storms that surrounded it should be regarded not only as a new and deplorable stage in the religious division between East and West, but also as an event in the internal history of the Empire. The Council of Florence, as indeed the whole "Unionist" problem, was to become the sign, and, as it were, the catalyzer, of that internal disunion which had long been festering in Byzantine society. These remarks may help us to formulate one or two of those questions which might provide us with a guiding thread today. In the first place, it is from a strictly historical point of view, perhaps more accurate to enquire not why the Council of Florence did not succeed, but why it so nearly succeeded. How did it happen that, in spite of overwhelmingly anti-Unionist feelings in Byzantium, which provide an obvious and adequate explanation of the ultimate collapse of the Agreement of 1439, the majority of Byzantine prelates, theologians and dignitaries signed the Act of Union in Florence? It is scarcely possible to explain their conduct by sheer political opportunism, or by pressure exerted



on them by the Latins. We are surely faced with a more fundamental drama, and one which has its roots in the thought-world of Byzantium. For how otherwise can we explain the fact that Mark of Ephesus and the famous Bessarion of Nicaea, men of the same generation, with the same intellectual background and education, found themselves in two opposite and irreconcilable camps? What were the hidden springs of their actions? These questions have never yet been satisfactorily answered. And it seems to me that such an answer will appear in sight only when we will have studied anew, in a manner free from a priori assumptions and prejudices, the real protagonists, the live men who were directly involved in these divisions. Mark of Ephesus was one of the principal actors in this drama; he remains a key to an understanding of its significance.

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He belonged to a generation of men, born at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which has left a significant mark on European history. His contemporaries, Bessarion of Nicaea, Theodore of Gaza, George of Trebizond—were the last representatives of that “Palaeologian Renaissance”, which during the twilight of Byzantium, illumined for a while the Renaissance in the West. Mark received a remarkable education: his teachers were Gemistus Plethon, Joseph Bryennius, Manuel Chrysokokkis, the master of Francesco Filelfo.<sup>9</sup> The brief academic career on which he embarked in the Patriarchate appears to have been equally brilliant, to judge at least from the flowing tribute which was later paid to his teaching by the famous Genadius Scholarius, who had been his pupil.<sup>10</sup> We possess several works by Mark, written during this “academic” period of his life. They reflect most of the literary *genres* current in his day—hymnography, rhetoric, the epigram, exegesis. Though I cannot agree with the judgment of Monseigneur Petit who asserts that in these early works “l’abondance des mots supplée a l’indigence de la pensée”,<sup>11</sup> it is not here, of course, that we must look for those qualities that raised Mark above the level of the contemporary elite of Byzantium, later caused his tragic solitude at Florence, surrounded him in the last days of his life with the aureola of a leader and a prophet, and finally caused him to be numbered among the saints of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Yet this early period can help us to understand the later Mark. It was then that he became a scholar, and acquired that skill in dialectic and the basis of that astonishing erudition which are recognized even by those of his modern detractors, like Fr. Grumel, who deny him any real theological or philosophical ability.<sup>12</sup>

The next phase of Mark’s life was even more decisive. In 1418, at the age of 26, he abandoned his teaching, and his post in the Patriarchal administration, and became a monk. It is, I think, significant that instead of choosing

a monastery in the capital, he retired to an island in the gulf of Nicomedia. There, for two years, he underwent his monastic training; and it was only the increasing menace of the Turks that forced him to return to Constantinople.<sup>13</sup> His next residence, the famous monastery of Mangana in the capital, now became the centre of his life work. It was from there that he was summoned by the Emperor John VII Palaeologus to take part in the work of preparing the Council of Florence, thither he returned after 1439, as Archbishop of Ephesus, having failed to take possession of his diocese; there, round him, gathered the main opponents of the Union; it was there, finally, that he died, and was buried in 1447.<sup>14</sup>

In itself, of course, Mark's early training in the monastic life cannot provide us with a clue to his later theological views and ecclesiastical position. Monasticism was a vocation common enough in fifteenth-century Byzantium. Mark's opponents at the Council of Florence, Bessarion of Nicaea and Isidore of Kiev, were also monks, and among the other signatories of the Act of Union were the abbots of such leading monasteries as the Great Lavra and Vatopedi on Mount Athos, Peribleptos and Pantokrator in Constantinople. Nor can his break with the Patriarchal school, and with the turbulent and brilliant life of the capital, so characteristic of the last decades of the Empire's existence, be taken as sufficient evidence of his adherence to a particular party. And yet it would not be difficult to show that those years were decisive in the final development of Mark's religious outlook, which transformed him from a rhetorician of promise, a court preacher and a humanist, into a "fanatic", as he is often described by modern authors. This term, perhaps, needs a little further explanation. The source of this "fanaticism" is generally considered to lie in Mark's violent and uncontrollable hatred of the Latins. Of all the clichés used by Western writers to describe Mark's outlook, this "hatred of the Latins" recurs indeed most persistently. And yet it should not be difficult to show that this is, to say the least, an exaggerated interpretation. Had he simply been a "hater of the Latins" he would scarcely have been appointed by the Emperor as one of the principal delegates to the Unionist Council of Florence, and nominated for this special purpose to one of the most important episcopal sees in the Eastern Church; he would hardly have been chosen to reply on behalf of the Byzantine delegation to Cardinal Cesarini's speech of welcome at the opening session of the Council at Ferrara; nor would he, in all probability, have been appointed by the Emperor as "Exarch", that is official opponent of the Latins, in the theological discussions at the Council.<sup>15</sup> These, I admit, are indirect, as it were external arguments; but if more time were available, I believe that I could show, with reference to Mark's own writings, that, though he was in fact opposed to any agreement with the Latins, this was due not to a blind hatred of them, but to



his firm conviction that the proposed Council suffered from specific theological and doctrinal defects. His resistance to the theological compromise that made the Union possible was born not of any dislike of Latin Christianity as such, but of his definite outlook, based on a particular system of theology which he had undoubtedly accepted by the time he returned to Constantinople from his island retreat in 1420. The source of this theology, I am convinced, was that theological and mystical doctrine which in the previous century had split the Byzantine Church into two irreconcilable camps, and which is known as Palamism, or Hesychasm.

It is not my intention to give an account of the theological and mystical teaching of Gregory Palamas and his followers. For our present purpose, its importance and relevance lie above all in the clash of theological and philosophical opinions to which it gave rise, a clash which was but a symptom of a deep rooted duality in Byzantine opinion which found so violent an expression at the Council of Florence. It is, as I hope to show later, in the doctrinal and historical background of Palamism that we can perhaps find a clue to the theological and philosophical controversies in fifteenth century Byzantium.

Hesychasm may be briefly defined as an ascetic doctrine, founded on the pursuit of "hesykhia", that is of a particular method of contemplative, silent, and solitary prayer. Until recently, Hesychasm was generally regarded, at least by Western authors, as a strange fourteenth century aberration, a curious distortion of Christianity, perhaps related to Bogomilism. Only recently this opinion was expressed by Fr. Delehaye, in his chapter on Byzantine monasticism in the volume entitled "Byzantium" edited by Prof. Baynes and Mr. Moss.<sup>16</sup> During the last few years the study of Hesychasm in the West has made substantial progress. Recent research has emphasized two facts. In the first place, Hesychasm, as a particular method of asceticism, arose long before the so-called Hesychast controversies of the fourteenth century: in the sixth century, for example John of the Ladder devoted a whole chapter of his *Scala Paradisi* to the practice of "hesykhia". Secondly, and this is the main point, the theological doctrine which grew out of this ascetic experience, and which enriched it in its turn, was no innovation or product of dualistic or other non-Christian influences, but an organic development of that same contemplative and mystical tradition of Byzantine theology, which, through Palamas' teacher, Gregory of Sinai, goes back to Symeon the Young, Maximus the Confessor and Gregory of Nyssa. This organic link between the teaching of Palamas and the doctrine of the Eastern Church was recently brought out most convincingly by Mr. Lossky in his book in French on the mystical theology of the Eastern Church and has now been demonstrated by

Fr. Cyprian Kern in his newly published "Anthropology of St. Gregory Palamas."<sup>17</sup>

I cannot unfortunately, cite all those passages from the little known, and in some cases still unpublished, works of Mark which convinced me that the hidden springs of his mentality and outlook must be sought in Palamism. (This I hope to do in a book on Mark of Ephesus which I am preparing). Here I can only submit to you very briefly the outlines of my argument, which will enable me to return to the problems I mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

One of Mark's teachers was Joseph Bryennius, a personal disciple of Gregory Palamas<sup>18</sup>; there is evidence that Mark himself was an adherent of Palamism in the early, academic, period of his life. In the Canon he composed during those years in honour of his patron, the Patriarch Euthymius, he praises him for his struggle against the "adherents of Akydinos", that is with the theological opponents of Palamas who were condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 1368.<sup>19</sup> Was it not the influence of the Palamite doctrines, with their emphasis on contemplative and solitary prayer that prompted his decision to become a monk? An indirect answer to this question may well lie in a posthumous panegyric to Mark, composed after the fall of Constantinople by Manuel, Rhetor of the Great Church: the author states that Mark, after his monastic profession "wholly devoted himself to *Silence* (*hesychia*) and was so loathe to leave his monastery and his cell and to interrupt his *silence* and concentration, that he did not show himself to his acquaintances or even to his relatives."<sup>20</sup> The word "silence" (*hesychia*) which occurs twice in this passage and is *par excellence* a technical term of Palamite theology, suggests that it was this "hesychast" form of monasticism that Mark adopted upon his profession. It is true that this panegyric was written considerably after the event, and hence might inspire no particular confidence were it not for the fact that Manuel's allusions are confirmed by the subsequent events of Mark's life and by his own later writings. I can do no more than enumerate these facts, but a mere summary of them will, I hope, appear not unconvincing. Soon after his return to Constantinople in 1420 he wrote an extensive treatise devoted especially to a defence of the Palamite doctrine of the distinction between God's essence and his "energies", against the detractions of the Byzantine Dominican Manuel Kalekas. This treatise, the most extensive of Mark's works, is still unpublished, with the exception of its concluding section, the *Capita Syllogistica*, published in 1758 by Seraphim of Pisidia and reprinted in 1849 by W. Gass in an appendix to his *Die Mystik des Nikolaus Cabasilas*.<sup>21</sup> We may further assume that one of the reasons which prompted the Emperor John Palaeologus to appoint Mark a member of the theological commission entrusted with the work of preparing the ne-



gotiations for the Union, was Mark's knowledge of Palamism. For, according to the same Rhetor Manuel, the original plan was to make the discussions with the Latins revolve around the two basic problems of the Filioque and the Divine essence and "energies".<sup>22</sup>

The work of this preparatory commission, and the ensuing Council of Ferrara and Florence took Mark away from his monastery, and forced him to devote all his energies to the struggle against the Union which, in his view, was baneful and destructive to Orthodoxy. His work of anti-Latin polemic, 19 in all, were composed in those last ten years of his life. But, though these polemical writings of Mark have attracted far more attention, it has not been observed sufficiently how closely they remain connected with his "Hesychast" convictions, how strictly they are derived from the same theological source. Wherever Mark is original, whenever he does not simply repeat the contentions of previous Byzantine controversies, his views and arguments are nearly always based on the Hesychast doctrines. This is particularly evident in his three treatises against the Latin doctrine of Purgatory, written during the Council of Florence, in which he expresses very interesting views on the nature of the beatific vision which are entirely based on Palamite premises. Equally characteristic was Mark's reply at the Council to the questions of the Western theologians who had asked him to define his teaching more precisely: "You have heard the definition" Mark said to them "ask nothing further; for about that which is invisible and unknowable we cannot and will not say more".<sup>23</sup> Fr. Grumel sees in these words of Mark further proof that he was incapable of giving an adequate answer.<sup>24</sup> But in the context of the Acts of the Council these words of Mark directly refer to a quotation from John of the Ladder about "the invisible vision and supra-cognitive knowledge" and it is obvious that they allude to that "apophatic" method which is central to Hesychasm.

I cannot here attempt a theological discussion of Mark's writings; it is sufficient for our purpose to identify that central stream of Palamite doctrine which runs through them, as indeed through the whole life of Mark of Ephesus. This is equally true of another group of his writings, dealing specially with problems of asceticism almost all of which are still unpublished. The Hesychast origin of Mark's inspiration is here particularly apparent. One of these works is concerned with the "Prayer of Jesus", that is with the unceasing invocation of the name of Christ combined with a particular kind of physical concentration: this is a typical Hesychast question.<sup>25</sup> It is significant that this work was included, though without the author's name, in the *Philokalia*, a collection of ascetic writings which has become a classic in the Eastern Orthodox world, and can be read in an eighteenth century Greek translation in the first Venice edition of 1783. Many other of Mark's works directly

or indirectly relating to Palamism are still preserved in manuscripts and I cannot discuss them here.<sup>26</sup> I suggested earlier that the problem of Palamism has its relevance to a proper understanding of the intellectual background of the Council of Florence. Let me try and substantiate this statement. The clash between Mark and his Byzantine opponents at Florence is generally presented in the simple terms of a conflict between the "anti-Latin" and the "pro-Latin" parties in the Byzantine Church and society. But this suspiciously simplified picture is at variance with at least one essential fact. None of Mark's Byzantine opponents, neither Bessarion nor Isidore nor Gregory Mammas were in any real sense adherents of "Latin" theology, *Latifronoi* in any true meaning of the word; nor were they "Westernizers" in the cultural or political sense: Bessarion, for instance, for all his connection with Italian humanists, was noted for his passionate love of Byzantium and equally passionate attachment to Hellenism — there is almost something utopian in his insistent appeals to the West for a crusade to liberate his enslaved fatherland; in the West at least he was known as an exponent and propagandist of Hellenism.<sup>27</sup> Hence it was not a dogmatic belief in the rightness of the Latins that divided him from Mark. The two men were separated, I believe, by their different *experiences* of the whole problem of dogmatic union with the West, by a conflict of religious "ideologies". What was the nature of this conflict?

We have seen that the basis of Mark's theology, of his inflexible stand for Orthodoxy as he conceived it, was the theology of Palamism. And this leads me to formulate another question which, I hope, will bring us to the very heart of what I have to say: can we not find in this controversy about the essence and "energies" of God, a controversy that seems purely theological and so excessively abstract, the key to the drama that took place in Florence?

The controversy that flared up in Byzantium in the middle of the fourteenth century round the Hesychast teaching of Gregory Palamas, has been variously explained by historians. It has been described as a conflict on Byzantine soil between Aristotelianism and Platonism, or between nominalism and realism, or even between Westernism and nationalism. But the true explanation surely lies in study of the works of Palamas himself. It is a sad but significant fact that about three quarters of his writings are still unpublished.<sup>28</sup> A study of his manuscripts shows, I think, quite clearly that the conflict in question was primarily a clash between that traditional Eastern theology, of which Palamism, we have seen, was an organic development, and something which might tentatively be called Byzantine scholasticism. It is a mistake to think that the roots of this Byzantine scholasticism are necessarily to be sought in the West. It arose gradually, on Byzantine soil, and in specifically Byzantine conditions. To some extent it may perhaps be said to go back to the



ninth century, to that Triumph, or Festival of Orthodoxy which put an end to the Iconoclastic crisis. The defeat of Iconoclasm was not only a doctrinal victory, it was also a victory gained by the Church over the last "State heresy", a heresy which had the sanction and support of the State. The early history of the Empire, as is well known, is full of such clashes between the Empire and the Church on the plane of dogma, of conflicts between two opposite "logics"—the State demanding religious peace in the name of order and security, the Church refusing to subordinate the demands of Truth to these reasons of State. The explanation of these conflicts lies in the nature of that gradual process whereby the Truth possessed by the Church was uncovered and realized by theologians. The "Triumph of Orthodoxy" was a turning point in this process. It was, above all, an attempt to discover a formula governing the relations of Church and State which would make a recurrence of such conflicts impossible. If the guarding of Orthodoxy is the mission entrusted to the Christian Empire, then Orthodoxy itself must be a clear, definite and completed whole. This, in brief, is the historical and psychological background of what, for want of a better word, might be called "Byzantine theocracy";<sup>29</sup> and this, too, was the basis of that outlook which created what might be called the "official" or "scholastic" theology in Byzantium. Of this theology Fr. Jugie has written: "For the Byzantine, Orthodoxy became finally solidified by the end of the second Iconoclast persecution, with the Triumph of Orthodoxy. Henceforth the teaching role of the hierarchy consists in zealously guarding the stored up heritage, without any attempt to use it or even to develop it by fresh formulations".<sup>30</sup> On this point we cannot agree with Jugie. There gradually emerged in Byzantium a "Canon of Orthodoxy", a clearly defined tradition, in which the works of the Church Fathers were used as a kind of arsenal of texts, providing a ready answer for every contingency. A fairly typical example of this "official" theology is the "Panoplia dogmatike" of Euthymius Zigabenus, commissioned by Alexius Comnenus, with its characteristic method of dealing with the newly appeared heresies: each of them is reduced to some past heresy, only to be confuted by ready-made arguments. Thus the problems were tackled not on their own merits, but with the help of "texts" often torn out of their context and hurled into the fray, provided only they could serve as a formal justification for this or that proposition.<sup>31</sup>

The results of this process were far-reaching: for this "official" theology was, I submit, the main cause of that crisis which was brewing in the last centuries of Byzantine history and flared up with such intensity at the Council of Florence.

In the first place, this Byzantine "official" theology is directly connected with the rise of the movement of the *Latifronoi*, that group of Byzantine

writers and theologians who belonged to the Unionist party. The majority of them were not directly influenced by Western Scholasticism, and, though the influence of St. Thomas Aquinas began to be felt in Byzantium in the fourteenth century,<sup>32</sup> the pioneers of *Latifronia*, Nicephoros Blemmydes and John Veccus were quite untouched by it.<sup>33</sup> Nor were the *Latifronoi* doctrinal relativists, ready to accept any dogmatic compromise for the sake of the Empire's survival. It must be admitted that many of them were among the best men and the finest minds of Byzantium, capable of rising above a purely emotional dislike of Latin Christianity and of transcending those differences of ritual which so excited Byzantine opinion. They saw clearer than their compatriots that if the religious antagonism between East and West were not overcome, the Empire was doomed to extinction. And in their search for a way of reunion they discovered, as they thought, a justification for their views in that attitude to the Patristic tradition and in that method of appealing to it which I have just described. The formalism of the "official" theology of the Byzantine Church, with its method of using the Fathers as a reservoir of texts, became a formidable weapon in their hands. The opponents of the Filioque could adduce a mass of quotations from the Fathers in support of their belief; the *Latifronoi*, who were not to be outdone by their rivals, dug up no less than 600 passages from the same Fathers which seemed to justify their own view. A recent author has aptly summed up these curious exercises as follows: "there developed a special technique of parrying texts with counter-texts, a dismal art which evolved with increasing subtlety, and increasing sterility".<sup>34</sup> Thus this "official" theology, which had arisen from purely conservative motives, led to its method being used against its own original purpose. It is important to realize that in this sense the mentality and methods of the *Latifronoi* were a direct continuation of a particular tradition of Byzantine theology, and not a by-product of Western scholasticism. Such prominent and characteristic representatives of this group as Bessarion of Nicaea, George of Trebozond, George Mammas, or Isidore of Kiev, were in all respects typical Byzantines of their age. That formal concordance between the Latin and the Greek doctrines, which was established at Florence and served as the doctrinal foundation of Union, completely satisfied them and enabled them to accept the Union with a clear conscience.

I have suggested that one of the reasons that made that *Latifronoi* so anxious to reach an agreement with the Western Church was their Byzantine patriotism, justly alarmed at the ever increasing threat of the Ottoman Turks to the very existence of the Empire. Yet it would be a mistake to explain their attitude by a simple desire for political scheming or an elementary instinct of patriotism. Their attitude, I believe, was due to deeper and more essential motives, motives which, though perhaps not always consciously



accepted, bring us nevertheless to the last and highly significant cause of the religious and philosophical controversies of late Byzantine history.

An influential group of Byzantine intellectuals who belonged to the generation of Bessarion of Nicaea tended increasingly to discover their most precious inheritance in Hellenism, in the consciousness that the supreme mission of Byzantium lay in the preservation of the Greek classical tradition. We know much more today about this revival of Hellenism in the last four centuries of Byzantine history, a process traceable from Psellus and Italus and their followers, to that fantastic restoration of Hellenic paganism which we find in the system of Gemistus Pletho.<sup>35</sup> One aspect of this revival is of particular relevance to our subject: its paradoxical, but close, connection with that "official" theology to which I have referred. This connection may be seen by observing the manner in which Greek thought, increasingly imprisoned after the ninth century in dogmatic formalism, sought an outlet in philosophy. In the works of the great Fathers, Athanasius and the Cappadocians, Hellenism had been brought into the service of the Church. Now Hellenism and Christianity were severed once more, and this separation was perhaps the central drama in the history of late Byzantine culture. Psellus is a striking instance of this: the creative and original qualities of his thought and his leading role in the genuine philosophical revival of the eleventh century are now recognized by historians; but the same Psellus wrote theological works which have no relation whatever to his philosophy and are entirely within the framework of official Orthodoxy.<sup>36</sup> This "double truth" is even more apparent in the work of Psellus' follower, John Italus.<sup>37</sup> And finally, with Pletho comes the final break, and Christianity is replaced by Hellenism.

Both Bessarion of Nicaea and Mark of Ephesus were at one time disciples of Plethon. Mark rejected his teaching early in life; Bessarion remained faithful to him forever. If he did not accept his conclusions, he shared to the full his passionate cult of Hellenism. Paradoxically enough, at the Council of Florence they found themselves in opposite camps. Bessarion defended the Union, Plethon fought against it. Bessarion hoped to find in the Union with the Latins the salvation of Hellenism, Plethon lived in expectation of a new religion—"not that of Christ or of Mahomet, none other than the religion of Plato and the ancient Greeks".

The case of Bessarion of Nicaea thus shows that for one leading representative of the *Latifronoi* at least, Union with the Western Church, the salvation of the Byzantine Empire, and the survival of Hellenism, were part of one and the same problem.

What was Mark's attitude to this Hellenic revival? I believe that if it could be shown that he explicitly opposed it, there would be serious grounds for

maintaining that his conflict with Bessarion and other representatives of the Byzantine elite at and round the Council of Florence went far beyond the difficulties of the hour and the immediate problem of reunion with Rome.

While studying the unpublished manuscripts of Mark of Ephesus in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, I came across a short treatise by him "On the Resurrection" of which Mgr. Petit has written "ne manque pas d'interet".<sup>38</sup> It is a philosophical apologia of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body and is based on a particular conception of the relationship of man's body and his soul. After reading it I asked myself the question: why was it necessary, in the Christian Empire and the fifteenth century to defend this dogma, surely one of the most essential and uncontrovertable of Christian doctrines? Against whom could Mark have been writing? And though he does not name his opponents, the study of this treatise inclines me to believe that they must be sought among the exponents of that Byzantine humanism which found in the fifteenth century its culmination in Gemistus Plethon. Only in those circles could the same arguments have been advanced against the resurrection of the body which St. Paul had once encountered in the Athenian Areopagus, and which formed the central strand of the anti-Christian polemic of the first centuries. It is not, however, the substance of that philosophical controversy that is important to us, but the fact of its revival in the last years of the Empire's history. Mark's defense of the resurrection of the body against its neo-pagan detractors is, I believe, deeply significant. Here, almost at the death-bed of the Christian Empire, the Christian view of the body as glorified by the Incarnation of God, and the perpetual refusal of paganism to acknowledge what in its eyes must ever remain foolishness, met in a last encounter. And in a sense, Mark's little treatise on the Resurrection summarizes and epitomizes the whole subject of my paper. For here again, the foundation of Mark's apologia of this Christian dogma remains that doctrine of man, possessing a body capable of resurrection and transfiguration, which forms the very centre of the teaching of Palamas. Palamas had said that man, by virtue of the "time tou somatos" "the honor of the body", of his "omotheon soma" his body created in the likeness of God, was higher than the angels. The same argument was used by Mark: and, this, when viewed in the light of that central strand of Palamism which runs through his writings, confirms and completes the picture of his beliefs and mental background which I have tried to draw. His writings, we have seen, were aimed at three groups of opponents: the anti-Palamites, the Unionists and the *Latifronoi*; I have suggested that, however much in common: for the formalism of the "official" theology led to the revival of Greek philosophy, now, however, divorced from Christianity; and Hellenism in its turn, whose survival, in the eyes of its votaries, was dependent on the contin-

ued existence of the Empire, provided that stimulus which encouraged the *Latifronoi* at Florence to seek for Union with the Western Church.

This suggests that the conflict between Mark and these three movements goes far beyond the specific issues raised at Florence. It cannot be doubted that the only force capable in fifteenth century Byzantium of opposing a truly creative interpretation of the Orthodox Tradition to the threefold argument — Unionism, formal theology and neo-pagan Hellenism — was the Hesychast theology of Palamas. In the hermitages of Athos, in monasteries in the provinces and in Constantinople itself there were still men at that time who sought and found not a mere formal identity with the writings of the Fathers, but an identity of *experience with them*. There is no reason to accuse Mark of any lack of Byzantine patriotism; but perhaps what I have tried to say today may help to show that his view of the Empire and of the problems confronting the Byzantine Church at Florence were very different from those of his opponents: for them, it seems, the survival of the Empire was necessary above all for the preservation of Hellenism; for Mark, the Empire itself found its true *raison d'être* and supreme justification in its function as servant and custodian of the living Truth of Christianity.

## Notes

1. E. Amann, "Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique", t. XII, Col. 1459.
2. F. Dvornik, "The Photian Schism—History and Legend", Cambridge, 1948.
3. Published originally by Cardinal Hergenrother in Migne, P. G. (tt. CLX and CLXI), new critical edition by Mgr. L. Petit, "Oeuvres anticonciliaires de Marc d' Ephese" in "Patrologia Orientalis", t. XV, 1-170, t. XVII, Col. 307-524.
4. A list (incomplete) of unpublished works and MSS of Mark has been established by L. Petit in "Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique", t. IX, Col. 1968-1986.
5. The major works on Mark, in addition to the article of Petit are: N. Kalogeras, "Mark Eugenikos and the Cardinal Bessarion", Athens 1893 (in Greek); A. Diamantopoulos, "Mark Eugenikos and the Synod of Florence", Athens 1899 (in Greek); K. Blastos, "Biography of Mark Eugenikos, Archbishop of Ephesus", Athens 1887, (in Greek); V. Grumel, "Marc d' Ephese. Vic. Ecrits. Doctrine" in "Estudis Franciscans", Barcelona 1925, 36 (425-448); A. Papadopoulos-Keramevs, "Mark Eugenikos as a Father of the Orthodox Catholic Church" in "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", XI, 1902 (50-69).
6. N. Baynes, "The Thought World of East Rome", Oxford 1947, p. 3.
7. F. Uspenskii, "Očerki po istorii vizantiskoj obrazovannosti", St. Petersburg, 1891 (in Russian).
8. F. Dvornik, op. cit. pp. 1-38 and "The Circus Parties in Byzantium" in "Byzantina-Metabyzantina", New York, Vol I.
9. Sylvestri Syropouli, "Historia vera unionis non verae", Ed. R. Creyghton, La Haye, 1660, p. 134; "Bryennios", ed. E. Bulgaris, Lipsiae 1768-84, t. III, p. xvii; F. Fuchs, "Die höheren Schulen v. Konstantinopel im Mittelalter", Leipzig 1926, pp. 70, 74-79.
10. Fuchs, op. cit. 75, cf. "Eloge funebre de Mark Eugenikos" in "Oeuvres Completes de G. Scholarios" published by L. Petit, X. A. Siderides and M. Jugie, t. I, Paris 1928.



11. L. Petit, op. cit., p. 1973.
12. V. Grumel, op. cit. offprint, p. 26; L. Petit, "Patrologia Orientalis", t. XVII, p. 312.
13. S. Petrides, "Le Synaxaire de Marc d' Ephese" in "Revue de l' Orient Chretien", 2 series, Vol. V (XV), 1910, p. 101. The author of this Synaxarium is John Eugenicos, the brother of Mark.
14. S. Petrides, op. cit. 101, 102. On the Monastery of Manganes cf. R. Janin in "Echos d' Orient", XVII, 309.
15. L. Petit, "Patrologia Orientalis", t. XVII, 309.
16. H. Delehay, "Byzantine Monasticism" in Byzantium, An Introduction to East Roman Civilization", ed. by N. H. Baynes and L. B. Moss, Oxford, 1948, p. 158.
17. V. Lossky, "Essai Sur la Theologie Mystique de l' Eglise d' Orient", Paris, 1944; Archim. Cyprian Kern, "The Anthropology of St. G. Palamas", Paris, 1950 (in Russian) and "The Spiritual Genealogy of St. G. Palamas", in "The Orthodox Thought", Paris, 1943.
18. On J. Bryennios see P. Meyer, "Des J. B. Leben, Schriften und Bildung" in "Byzantinische Zeitschrift", I, 88-97. His works have been published by E. Boulgaris, Leipzig, Vol. I-III, 1768-84. Mark composed an epitaph for his teacher, cf. Bulgariis, III, 16.
19. Published by E. Legrand, "Canon a la louange du Patriarche Euthyme II par M. Eugenicos" in "Revue des Etudes Grecques", V, 1892, P. 424.
20. "Patrologia Orientalis", XVII, 491-522. Russian translation by Arsenios Ivaschenko in "Christianskoie Tchtenie", 1886, pp. 102-162. On Manuel cf. L. Petit, "Patrologia Orientalis", XVII, pp. 331-335 and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Epeteris tou Parnassou", VI, Athens 1902.
21. W. Gass, "Die Mystik des N. Cabasilas vom Leben in Christo. Greifswald 1849", pp. 217-232.
22. Arsenios, op. cit. p. 113.
23. Cf. M. Jugie, "La Question du Purgatoire au Concile de Florence" in "Echos d' Orient", 20, 1921, pp 277 ff.; V. Grumel, op. cit. p. 20 ff.
24. V. Grumel, op. cit. p. 23.
25. I read it in "Codex Parisinus 1292" fol. 94vo-98 of the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.
26. Cf. enumeration of these writings in L. Petit, "Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique".
27. Cf. H. Vast, "Le Cardinal Bessarion, Etude sur la Chretiente et la Renaissance vers le milieu du XV", Paris 1878.
28. An important part of them will soon be published by J. Meyendorff, Lecturers at St. Sergius Institute in Paris; Cf. "Une lettre inedite de G. Palamas" in "Theologia" tome 24, 1953, Athens; off-print pp. 3-4.
29. Cf. my articles: "A Doctrinal Union" in "Orthodox Thought", VI, 170-183, "The Destiny of Byzantine Theocracy", ibid. V, 130-146, and "The Byzantine Theocracy and the Orthodox Church" in "St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly", Vol. I, 1953, No. 2, pp. 5-24.
30. M. Jugie, "Le Schisme Byzantin", p. 328; Cf. V. Grumel, "Les aspects generaux de la Theologie byzantine" in "Echos d' Orient", 30, 1931, p. 395; J. Tixeront, "Histoire des Dogmes", Paris 1930, II, 9.
31. M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres d' Euthyme Zigabene" in "Echos d' Orient", XV, 1912, p. 215.
32. On Thomistic influence in Byzantium Cf. in the "Complete Works of G. Scholarios", op. cit. Vol. I; Introduction; and M. Jugie, "Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium", t. I, pp. 416.
33. L. Petit, "Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique", 8, 656-660.
34. S. Bulgakov, "Paraclete", Paris 1936 (in Russian), p. 131.
35. On Pletho Cf.; E. Stephanou, "Etudes recentes sur Plethon" in "Echos d' Orient", 35, 1932, pp. 207-217; J. W. Taylor, "Gemisthos Pletho's Criticism of Plato and Aristoteles", University of Chicago, 1921; "Plethon" in "Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique", XII, pp. 2393-2404; I. Mamlakis, "G. G. Pletho", Athens, 1939 (in Greek); B. Tatakis, "La Philosophie Byzantine", Paris, 1949, pp. 281.
36. On Psellus, see B. Tatakis, op. cit. p. 161 ff., Bibliography: pp. 223-227.
37. On Italos, see B. Tatakis, ibid. and J. Hussey, "Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire", London 1937, p. 76.
38. I published this work of Mark in "Theologia" Vol. 22, 1951, Athens, Russian translation and commentary in "Orthodox Thought", Vol. 8, 1951.

# The Orthodox Doctrine of Causality\*

BISHOP NICHOLAI D. VELIMIROVICH

ONE of the fundamental points of doctrine in which our Orthodox Faith differs from all the philosophical systems as well as from some non-Orthodox denominations is the conception of causality, i.e., of causes. Those outside are prompt to call our faith mysticism, and our Church the Church of mystics. By the unorthodox theologians we have been often rebuked on that account, and by the atheists ridiculed. Our learned theologians neither denied nor confirmed our mysticism, for we never called ourselves mystics. So, we listened in wonderment and silence, expecting the outsiders to define clearly their meaning of our so-called mysticism. They defined it as a kind of oriental quietism, or a passive plunging into mere contemplation of the things divine. The atheists of our time, in Russia, Yugoslavia and everywhere do not call any religion by any other name but mysticism which for them means superstition. We listen to both sides, and we reject both definitions of our orthodox mysticism, which is neither quietism nor superstition.

It is true, however, that contemplative practice—not quietism though—is a recommendable part of our spiritual life, but it is not an all embracing rule. Among the great Saints we find not only the contemplative Fathers of the desert and seclusion, but also many warriors, benefactors, missionaries, sacred writers, sacred artists, and other persons of great activities and a sacrificial mode of Christian life. . . . And what is our answer to the atheists who call our mystical Faith superstition? Least of all they have the right to call it superstition since, by denying God and the soul and all the higher intelligences, they are indeed bearers of a thoughtless and nefarious superstition which never existed in the history of mankind, at least not on such a scale and with such fanaticism. Now, while those who speak of our mysticism are unable to give a satisfactory explanation of this word, let us ourselves look to it and explain to them from our point of view how should they understand our so-called mysticism.

Our religious mysticism is nothing misty, nothing nebulous, nothing obscure or mystified. It is our clear and perennial *doctrine of causality*. If we have to call this doctrine by an *ism*, we may call it *personalism*.

Every day and everywhere people talk of causes. They say: "This is caused by that, and that is caused by this." That is to say: the next preceding thing, or event, or fact, or accident is the cause of the next succeeding one.

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\* Lecture given at St. Vladimir's Seminary on February 2, 1953.

This is indeed a superficial and shortsighted notion of causality. We don't wonder about this superficiality of some ignorant persons, especially of the busy people of great cities who have little time for deep and calm thinking. But we are astonished to find the same superficiality with the learned and philosophically minded, as the materialists, naturalists and even deists. And because we call their theory of causes naive and fatalistic, they call us mystics. We consider that all those persons, be they ignorant or learned, who believe in natural and physical causes as definite, are fatalists. Both naturalism and materialism are teaching a blind fatalism without a smallest door of escape or a smallest window for sunshine. We orthodox Christians must resist this blind fatalism, as all Christians should do, and defend our intelligent *doctrine of personal causality* of and in the world.

This doctrine means that all causes are personal. Not only the first cause of the world is personal (as the deists think), but personal are all the causes of all things, of all facts, of all happenings and changes in all the world. When we say personal, we mean intelligent, conscious and intentional. Yea, we mean that some sort of personal beings are causing all, or better to say, are the causes of all. That is what personal means. I know that at this my first statement some non-orthodox would remark: "That doctrine you are probably drawing from your copious orthodox tradition, for which we do not care, and not from the Holy Scripture, which we take as the only infallible source of all truths." To this I answer: no, not at all; this doctrine is so evident in the Holy Scripture, from the first page to the last, that I have no need this time to quote our tradition at all.

On the first pages of the sacred Bible a personal God is specified as the First cause, or better to say the First Causer of the world visible and invisible. That God the Creator is personal, this is a professed and upheld dogma not only by all Christian denominations, but by some other religions too. We Christians, however, are privileged to know the inner being of God, i.e., God as Trinity in persons and Oneness in essence. We have learned to know this mystery through the momentous revelation in the New Testament. The dogma of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost means that God is trebly personal, yea supremely personal.

But not God alone is personal. Personal are also the angels, personal is Satan with his perverse hosts of demons, and finally personal are men. If you carefully read the Bible, without the prejudices of so-called "natural laws" and the supposed "accidental causes", you will find three causal factors, and all the three personal. They are: God, Satan and Man. They are, of course, not equal in personal attributes, and there is no parity among them. Satan has lost all his positive attributes of an angel of light, and has become the chief enemy of God and Man, but still he has remained a personal being, bent though to do evil. Man, since the original of sin, has darkened his glory



and deformed God's image in himself; yet, he has remained a personal being, conscious, intelligent and purposefully active, wavering between God and Satan, with his free choice to be saved by the first or destroyed by the second.

God is activity itself. Not only he interferes now and then with His wonders and miracles in the life of men and nations, but He is constantly and unceasingly active in supporting and vivifying His creation. "Being near to everyone of us", (Acts 17:27) and "knowing even the thoughts of man", (Ps. 94, 11) He eagerly acts and reacts in human affairs: giveth or withholds children, giveth or withholds good harvest, approves or threatens, grants peace to the faithful and excites war against the devil worshippers. He commands all the elements of nature, fire and water, hail and storms, either to aid the oppressed righteous or to punish the godless. He calls the locust, caterpillars and worms "my great army", (Joel 2.25) which He orders to devour the food of the sinners. He is "able to destroy both soul and body in hell". (Mt. 10.28) He knows "the number of our hairs", and not a sparrow shall fall on the ground" without His will and His knowledge. All this is testified by many instances in the Bible. And this is not all. There is no page in the Scripture which does not refer to God, yea a personal God, His will and His diverse activities. The whole Bible affirms that God is not only the First Causer of the world but also that He is all the time the personal All-keeper — Pantokrator — of the world, as we confirm in the first article of our Creed.

Another causal factor is Satan, God's adversary, with his hosts of fallen spirits. He is the personal causer of all evil. Ever since his fall as Lucifer from the glory of "an anointed cherub" (Jez. 28) (Isa. 14) to the dark pit of Hell, he is ceaselessly trying to infiltrate evil and corruption into every God's creation, specially into man. Envious of God and man, he is the hater of both. Christ called him "a murderer from the beginning" (John 8.44) and also "a liar and the father of it". He is a mighty ruler of evil and darkness, but still subordinate, unwillingly though, to the all powerful God. Only with God's permission he is able to harm men and to cause illness, confusion, pain, discord, death and destruction. But the more a person or a people sin against God, the greater power Satan gets over that person or that people. At the Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ the whole world *was* lying in evil because of Satan's terrible grasp over the bedeviled mankind. The world then was teeming with evil spirits as never before. Therefore, Satan dared to offer Christ all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them as his own. A robber and liar!

The third causal factor in this world, according to the Bible, is man. With

all his littleness and weaknesses man is the greatest prize for which Satan is relentlessly and desperately fighting, and for which God from the beginning was ready to die. Staggering between God and Satan, man is supported by God and beguiled by Satan, vacillating hither and thither, groping for light, life and happiness in his short span of existence on this planet. Yet, with all his seeming insignificance in this mammoth universe, man is able to change it by his conduct. Confucius said: "The clouds give the rain or give it not according to men's conduct". Much more valid is this observation in Christianity with its belief in a personal God, the Giver of rain.

By his faith and virtues, specially by his obedience to God, man regains the dominion over all the created nature as God in creating him entrusted to him. But by his apostasy and corruption he dethrones himself and comes under the dominion of physical nature and becomes its slave. Instead of commanding he is obeying the mute nature, and fighting it for his mere existence, as you see it still now happening in our own generation. And instead of having God as his only Master, he got two masters over himself, Satan and nature, both tyrantizing him. . . By his faith and virtue, man could have removed the mountains, tamed the wild beasts, defeated the aggressor, shut the heaven, stopped calamities, healed the sick, raised the dead. And by his sins and vices, specially by his apostasy from God, his only loving and powerful Friend, he could have caused the destruction of cities and civilizations, the earthquakes, floods, pestilence, eclipse of the sun, famine and all the innumerable evils, pleasing Satan and saddening God. Thus, following God man becomes god, and following the devil, he becomes devil. But be he with God or with God's adversary, man has been from the beginning and is now the focus point of this planet and one of the three most important causes of events and changes in the world. And thus, whatever happens on this world's stage, it happens either by God's benevolent will, or by Satan's evil will, or by man through his free choice between good and evil, right and wrong.

Now, when we mention only these three causal factors: God, Satan, and Man, you should not think of mere three persons, but of terrific forces behind each of them. Behind God — a numberless host of angels of light, so much so that each man and nation have their own angel guardian; behind Satan a horrible locust of evil spirits, so much so that a whole legion of them are used to torment one single man, that one of Gadara; behind Man, since Christ's emptying the Hades and His Resurrection, there are by now billions of human souls who from the other world, from the Church Triumphant, by their intercession and love, are helping us, many millions of Christ's faithful, still fighting against the Satanic forces for Christ and our own salvation. For our chief fight in this world is not against natural and physical adversities—which is comparably a small fight befitting more animals than men—but as the visionary Paul says: "Against principalities, against powers, against the

rulers of the darkness of this world", (Eph. 6.12) i.e., the satanic forces of evil. And we Christians have been, and always shall be, victorious over these satanic forces through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Why through Him? Because love is greater power than all other powers, visible and invisible. And Christ came to the earth and went down below to the very hellish nest of the satanic hosts to crush them in order to liberate and save men for sheer love of men. Therefore, He could at the end of His victorious mission say: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth". (Mt. 28, 18) When He says *all* power, He means it literally, all power, in the first place the power over Satan and his satanic forces, then the power over sinners, sin and death. First of all over Satan, the causer of sin and death. "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil". (I John 3, 8) Therefore, we rejoice in our belief that our Lord Jesus Christ is the irresistible Lord. We are acknowledging this belief in every liturgy by stamping the sacred bread for the Holy Communion with the words: IC - XC - NI - KA.

Read and reread the Gospel as much as you like, you will find in Christ's words not a slightest suggestion of natural and physical causes of anything and any happening. Clear as the shining sun is Christ's revelation and teaching, that there are only three causal factors in this world: God, Man and Satan. His chief obedience was to His heavenly Father; His chief loving work was the healing of men's bodies and soul, and His chief dispute with the pharisees was about His power of driving the evil spirits out of men and the forgiving of sins. As to the nature and so-called natural order and laws, He showed an unheard of absolute dominion and power. He vigorously impressed His followers that they "were not of the world", but, said He, "I have chosen you out of the world". (John 15, 19) Now, since the Christians are not of this world, they certainly cannot accept the theory of the men of this world about the impersonal, unintelligent and accidental causes of the process of things and events. Also in our liturgical book you find the same three personal causal factors as in the Gospel. The same in the Life of Saints too. The same in the conviction and consciousness of the masses of our Orthodox people.

Therefore, whoever speaks of impersonal causes of things, happenings and changes in this world, is limiting God's power, ignoring the powers of darkness, and despising the role and significance of man. The Scripture does not know, and does not mention any impersonal and blindly accidental cause of anything in the world. The Bible teaches us quite clearly, that the causes of all things, facts, happenings and changes, come from higher personal beings and personal intelligences. And we stick to this teaching of the Holy Book. Therefore we make no concessions to the secular, or scientific theories about



impersonal, unintelligent, unintentional or accidental causality in the world.

When I say *we*, I do not think only of the great Fathers of the Church, nor of the Doctors of Divinity, nor of the learned teachers of religion, but also of the masses of our Orthodox people all over the world. Our Orthodox people would not say: a wolf caused the death of somebody's sheep; nor a falling stone caused the injury of a boy; nor a tornado was the cause of the destruction of somebody's house; nor good weather was the cause of an abundant crop. Our people look through the screen of the physical world into a spiritual sphere and there seek the true causes of those happenings. They always seek a personal cause, or causes. And though this is in perfect accord with the Bible's teaching, some outsiders call us mystics, and our Faith mysticism or superstition. In fact, our mysticism is nothing else as a deeper insight into the spiritual realities, or intelligences, which are personally causing whatever there is or happens, using the natural things and elements only as their instruments, tools, channels, symbols, or signals.

All this leads us to the following conclusions:

First of all, Christianity is a religion not so much of principles, rules and precepts, but primarily and above all of personal attachments, in the first place an affectionate attachment to the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, and through Him to other members of His Church, the living and the dead.

Secondly, our Orthodox doctrine of personal causality on the whole range of nature and world's history is beyond any doubts the biblical doctrine. It was wholly adopted and expained by the Fathers of the Church, and it is kept lucidly in the consciousness of the Orthodox people.

The benefits we are drawing from such personalism in the doctrine of casuality are manifold. By it we are stirring our mind to pierce through the visible events into the realm of invisible intelligences causing and dominating all the drama of the world. It sharpens more than anything else our thinking power, our own intelligence. By it we are constantly aware of the presence of our Friend, Christ the Saviour, to whom we are praying, and also of our arch enemy, Satan, whom we have to fight and avoid. It helps us enormously toward educating and forming the strong personal, or individual, characters. It inspires us with spirit of optimistic heroism in suffering, self-sacrificing, and in enduring martyrdom for Christ's sake beyond description, as testified by our Church history.

All these and other benefits do not possess the follower of the doctrine of impersonal causality; not even the greatest of all benefits—the knowledge of the truth.

## *In Memoriam*

# Bishop Nikolai Velimirovich

Bishop Nikolai Velimirovich of the Serbian Orthodox Church who died last year on March 17, has been a well-known figure not only in the Eastern Orthodox Churches (especially in the Russian Church), but also in many religious denominations in England and the United States, particularly in the Anglican Communion. In the memory of all those who had an opportunity to meet him or to be acquainted with his work, Bishop Nikolai will remain as an exceptional man, an inspiring preacher, and a profound theological writer.

The village in Serbia where he was born in 1880 always had a special charm for him and a particular significance. There, in a big family, he performed his first duty as a shepherd. From his sheep, he was taken to the school. Educated in Belgrade, Oxford and Berne, he never ceased to be the shepherd, as the Bishop of Ohrida, Bitolj and Zhicha, he took good care of his flock. For a half-century, Bishop Nikolai was leading his faithful people through the periods of destruction and frustration, through deliverance and tragedy. All the time he was the shepherd of the sheep. At the most crucial moments his flock wanted his leadership and listened to his voice. The sheep followed him; for he knew and shared their joys and sorrows better than anyone else. His unusual strength and influence in Serbia came from his intimate knowledge and participation in the national and religious life of the people.

In peace and in war, Bishop Nikolai preached "The Good News" to his flock. He was an extraordinary preacher; he did not just talk but proclaimed the "new things" with power. The flock recognized his voice and called him "The Serbian Chrysostom"; he had a golden mouth indeed. A rare gift to speak or write in simple, pure, colorful, and, above all, powerful and meaningful language was his. In his preaching as well as in his writing, the substance and the form are united organically. The 'how' is not imposed on the 'what', but belongs to it. Behind what he said and how he expressed it, was a mind of a master trained in the school of Christian learning, contemplation and prayer. Although a man of enormous learning, Bishop Nikolai was not a scholar in the narrow sense of the word; he had a gift that is given to a few only. He was above all an outstanding spiritual leader of the Orthodox Church in the twentieth century. He lived in the tradition of the Fathers. His faith was the faith of the Saints.

His work is enormous and various in character. Among his main books published in Serbian, some of which appeared in Russian and English, we may mention the following: "Sermon Under the Mountain", "The All-Man", "Religion of Nyegosh", "Homilies", "Nomology", "Signs and Symbols", "War and the Bible", "Prayers on the Lake", "The Faith of the Educated People", "The Life of Saint Sava", and "Harvests of the Lord". In his theological writings, practical, personal, and ethical interests are predominant. Bishop Nikolai writes mainly for the guidance and the instruction of the faithful. He sees three realities: God, Satan and Man; and in the whole historical process, he recognizes God's moral laws. Three personal wills are fighting in the drama of history, the holy will of God, the malicious will of the devil, and between them—the will of man. The development or progress is the change of a situation according to the will of God and the moral state of man. Where God intervenes, the situation is changed.

Bishop Nikolai knew that men are afraid of the heights and the depths of thought

and therefore wanted to simplify everything and equalize all things. He fights the simplification and the reduction of religion to a common denominator. It would be a task of the younger Serbian generation which has been under the happy influence of Bishop Nikolai's work to make that part of his writings published only in Serbian, a common property of all Orthodox people scattered throughout the Western world. Thus, it can be made available to all those interested in the life and thought of the Eastern Church. There is an awareness of God's presence, there is a touch of the divine in his work. The last in the series of small tracts written by Bishop Nikolai for the Serbian Bible Institute bears the title, "The Mystery of Touch". These last words are revealing and may serve as a proper introduction for a better understanding of his personality and his immense work.

Bishop Nikolai came to this country after the Second World War, in 1946. In 1952, he received an Honorary Doctorate from Columbia University. Though physically weak (Bishop Nikolai spent the war years in confinement in the Dahan concentration camp), he showed a remarkable activity in the life of Orthodoxy here. With writing, preaching and teaching, he ended his days in the valley of tears. He died while Rector of the Russian Theological School at St. Tikhon's Seminary, in Pennsylvania. His contact with us at St. Vladimir's Seminary was most intimate, close and warm. Whenever he could, whenever his health permitted him, he would come to speak at the Seminary.

He was an unusual man, he had time for everyone. Accepting anyone who came to see him, he would carefully listen to his problems. Having a deep insight in human nature, he was able to see the secrets of the human heart. In his presence, certain difficulties would become insignificant. Those who knew him well have felt after his death, that this life was a little easier with him present than it is now without him.

— VESELIN KESICH



# The Life of the Church

## Religious Education

**Thirtieth Anniversary of the Institute of Religious Education at St. Sergius, Paris.** In 1927, a generous grant of the International Committee of the American YMCA made it possible to organize the first center of studies in Orthodox religious education: The Institute of Religious Education at St. Sergius Theological Academy in Paris. The aims of the Institute were: 1) to elaborate principles of Orthodox education, 2) to train Theological students and lay workers in the field of education, 3) to organize conferences for the study of the educational problem, and 4) the preparation of special literature and books dealing with Orthodox religious education. The Institute was headed from the very beginning by Professor B. B. Zenkovsky, Professor of Religious Education at St. Sergius and now Dean of the Academy. During the first eight years (up to 1935) a regular seminar on education was held weekly, in which, among others Professor S. Verkhovsky (now at St. Vladimir's), Professor N. Afanasiev, Professor Zander and many students took part. Problems of psychology, Orthodox anthropology and educational techniques of teachers were discussed. The Institute organized three diocesan conferences in Western Europe in order to promote its principles in the parishes and it organized the Pan-Orthodox Conference of Religious Education in Salonika, Greece, in 1931. Since 1933 the Institute published 3 volumes of "Problems of Religious Education", 31 issues of the "Bulletin of Religious Education" (1933-1956), 24 issues of "Religious Leaflets for Children" and several books on education, the most important of which is the Very Rev. B. Zenkovsky's "Problems of Education in the Light of Christian Anthropology" Vol. I and "Russian Education in the XXth Century". The work accomplished by the Institute is of great importance for the whole Church in which the prime problem is that of religious education. It is hoped that some of this rich material will soon be made available in English for the benefit of religious education in America.

**The First Pan-Orthodox Conference on Religious Education in the United States.** On October 26-27 of this year, the representatives of various Orthodox Churches met at Reed Farm, N.Y. to discuss the general problem of Orthodox education in the United States. The meeting was organized by a preparatory committee with the help of the National Council of Churches Department of Education. The organizational work was performed by Mrs. Sophie Koloumzine. The Rev. William Schneirla was chairman. Five papers were read and discussed at the conference on the following subjects and their significance in religious education: "Doctrine" (Rev. E. Stephanou, Holy Cross Seminary, Brookline, Massachusetts, Greek Church), "Scriptures" (Rev. William Schneirla, St. Vladimir's Seminary, Antiochian Church), "Ethics" (Professor Serge Verkhovsky, St. Vladimir's Seminary, Russian Church), "Liturgics" (Rev. Alexander Schmemmann, St. Vladimir's Seminary, Russian Church). A permanent committee was elected and, upon approval of the respective Churches, some of which have already granted this, will act as a coordinating agency with a permanent secretary. The committee will publish a bulletin, the first issue of which will include the minutes and the papers read at this conference.

## Orthodox Youth Movement

**Syndesmos.** The third conference of Syndesmos, the Federation of Orthodox Youth Movements was held in Kefisia, Athens, Greece from the 19th to the 23rd of September of this year. Syndesmos was organized in Paris three years ago to serve as a coordinating center for all Orthodox Youth Movements. It is now, only after three years of preparation, that its formation can be considered as completed in the European and Middle East areas. Greek, Finnish, Syrian, Russian, Serbian and other national movements have joined. The conference heard papers on "Ecumenism", "The Unity of the Church", "The Body as the Temple of the Holy Spirit", and had three committees discussing "Methods of Youth Work", "Orthodox Youth and the Ecumenical Movement", and "The Statutes of Syndesmos". The elected officers are J. Meyendorf (Lecturer at St. Sergius in Paris; Russian Student Christian Movement) President, E. Stylios (*Zoe* Youth movement, Greece) Secretary, M. Markos (Syria), X. Kirkinen (Finland) and J. Morosov (R. S. C. M. Paris) as members of the Executive Board. The Syndesmos plans a conference of all Youth Movements to be held in 1958 in Greece. One of the first activities of Syndesmos will be to enter into contact with the Youth Movements in the New World.

**Orthodox Youth Movement in the Church of Antioch.** For the first time this year, the Movement organized a camp for children and students. The leaders of the camp were Archimandrite Ignatius Hazim and the Rev. G. Khodre, both graduates of St. Sergius in Paris. A daily Liturgy was celebrated at which the campers received Communion. Lectures were held on modern missionary work, Christian ethics, Marxism, marriage and a study of the Epistle to the Ephesians. This camp was a real revelation about the Church and its life to many of the participants.

# The Seminary, 1955-1956

**YEARS OF GROWTH.** The seminary entered the 1956-57 academic year with a total of 41 students. In comparison with other Theological schools in America, it is still a small establishment, but the percentage increase in students is notable, the 1955 academic year ended with 14 students, 1956 with 24. In the fall of 1956, 18 new students were accepted, an all time high. The most significant step forward, however, is the gradual realization of the mission of St. Vladimir's to be the laboratory of Orthodox unity in America. At the present time, it is the only Pan-Orthodox theological school. Its student body represents eight national jurisdictions; its faculty, four. It is also the only Orthodox school using a language common to all students, all lectures are carried on in English. The seminary is Pan-Orthodox also through its contacts with all other Orthodox theological schools in the world: Athens, St. Sergius in Paris, Holy Cross and schools in Syria and Japan.

In the last two years, the library increased fourfold. Special thanks are due to the Rev. Alexander Warnecke and Mr. D. Berezhinov for their invaluable help in obtaining books from the library of the late Metropolitan Macarius.

The Extension Courses for priests have been organized and are now in progress.

**THE FACULTY.** The Faculty consists of twelve professors and lecturers. Two members of the faculty left the Seminary: The Very Reverend George Florovsky joined the Harvard Divinity School. The Rev. Christopher Christodoulou went abroad. In 1955, the Board of Trustees elected two new assistant Professors: Veselin Kesic as Assistant Professor of New Testament and Greek, and Rev. William Schneirla, Assistant Professor of Old Testament. Both are graduates of St. Vladimir's and are currently doing further work in their fields at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary. The Rt. Rev. Metropolitan Andrey of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church was elected as Assistant to the Dean and Lecturer in Homiletics. Metropolitan Andrey is a graduate of the Moscow Theological Academy. Mrs. Sophie Koloumzin, a well-known expert in Christian Education, was invited as Visiting Lecturer in Christian Education. She is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary.

**ACTIVITIES.** Professors Bogolepov, Schmemmann, and Verkhovsky were members of the commission which drafted the Statutes of the Russian Orthodox Greek-Catholic Church of America, and which were adopted at the Church's All-American Sobor in November, 1955. Professor Bogolepov was the editor of the final text.

Professor N. Arseniev lectured at the University of Bonn, Germany in the Summer of 1955. His new book "The Transfiguration of the World" appeared in German. He is Visiting Lecturer at the University of Montreal.

Professor Serge S. Verkhovsky lectured at the Graduate School of Ecumenical Studies at the Ecumenical Institute in Geneva, in January 1956. His book "God and Man" was published in New York in Russian by the Chekhov Publishing House.

The V. Rev. Alexander Schmemmann preached and lectured in Orthodox communities and youth groups in New York, Detroit, Harrisburg, Albany, Cohoes, Toronto, Quebec, Montreal, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. He was guest speaker at the Annual Convention of the Syrian Antiochian Archdiocese in Montreal in August, 1956. He lectured on Orthodoxy at the Trinity College, University of Toronto, Wayne University, Detroit, Hart House, Toronto, and at Drew Seminary in New Jersey. He was



the main lecturer at the annual Liturgical Conference in Los Angeles. His book "Introduction to Liturgical Theology" is to appear next fall.

Rev. William Schneirla is Director of Religious Education of the Syrian Antiochian Archdiocese, and Editor-in-Chief of its official magazine, "The Word". He represents his Church in the National Orthodox Catholic Boy Scout Committee and is the National President of the Orthodox and Anglican Fellowship.

**RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.** A two-year program of Religious Education for Sunday School teachers in the Metropolitan New York area is conducted by the Seminary. It includes courses in Scripture (Profs. Schneirla and Kesic), Dogmatics (Prof. Verkhovsky), Christian Ethics (Prof. Verkhovsky), Church History (Prof. Schmemann), Liturgics (Prof. Schmemann) and Methods (Mrs. Koloumzin). More than 40 people are presently enrolled. Mr. George Gladky ('58) is the administrative secretary for the program.

The Rev. William Schneirla and Professor Kesic lectured at the Religious Education Courses organized by the Roumanian Episcopate at its headquarters near Detroit, Michigan in the summer of 1956.

The V. Rev. Alexander Schmemann lectured for two summers, 1955-56, on Church History and Liturgics at the Eastern Orthodox Catechetical Conference, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

Mr. Alvian Smirensky ('57) was the Sunday School director at the Church of the Transfiguration in Brooklyn, N.Y. during the 1955-56 academic year. He was relieved by Mr. George Gladky ('58).

Mr. Theodore Fryntzko ('54) has directed Sunday Schools in Hartford, Conn. and East Meadow, N.Y.

**ALUMNAE.** Rev. Daniel Hubiak ('56) joined the Seminary staff as Secretary Registrar. He is also Spiritual Advisor to the Metropolitan District of the F.R.O.C.

Rev. S. Kuharsky is rector of the Holy Trinity Church, New Britain, Conn. There are now 40 former students serving as priests in the Orthodox Church of America.

**FIRST JAPANESE STUDENT ORDAINED.** The Reverend Peter Dairoky Sayama ('59) was ordained to the priesthood by the Most Rev. Archbishop Dimitry of Philadelphia at the request of the Right Reverend Iriney, Bishop of Tokyo on November 8, 1956, at the Russian Orthodox Pro-cathedral. He is the first Japanese Orthodox to be ordained in this country. He is now assisting Father Schmemann at the Seminary Chapel. On the same day, seven students: F. Berezovsky, T. Fryntzko, G. Gladky, E. Kerekes, L. Kirvida, A. Rozanovicz and A. Smirensky were made readers.

## Book Reviews

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### GOD AND MAN IN ORTHODOX THOUGHT

GOD AND MAN, THE DOCTRINE OF GOD AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD AT THE LIGHT OF ORTHODOXY, S. S. VERKHOVSKY, *Chekhov Publ. House, N. Y. 1956, 416 pp., \$3.00.*

At first glance, the structural defects of Professor Verkhovsky's book, some of which are pointed out by the author himself, might disturb the reader, but on closer inspection, the true value of the book and the rare and promising theological talent of the author become evident.

The defects of the book are, first of all, the undertaking of too broad a plan which could not be carried out. Likewise the veracity of its structure is open to question. The author's stated intention was to bring together themes of dogmatic and moral theology. These themes are interwoven too subjectively at times while the historical account of Biblical and Patristic teachings often merge with his own doctrinal elaborations (statements, opinions).

Fortunately, this book testifies to such a strong theological and spiritual burning, that its other shortcomings are not only easily justified but even become a powerful spiritual weapon. For instance, in expounding on some of the prophets, the author comments on them in a prophetic tone. Anyone else, in a like situation, could have been reproached for excessive pathos, but here the author's tone appears as the natural resonance of his warm response to the prophets' divine utterings.

The first part of the book is, so to speak, an introduction to the second. Its theme is an apology for the knowledge of God, or in a narrow sense, a justification of theology. This part of the book is extremely new in introductory as well as substantial themes.

The systematic development of these themes is more easily discerned when one reads all the chapters of this part. The author's train of thought is approximately as follows.

The first theme—God is the measure of all creation and particularly of our whole life. To understand this measure, one must know God. Without God (Who is absolute perfection), no evaluation is possible and consequently nothing of value can exist. The second theme—Knowledge of God is not only essential but it is also possible. It is determined by continual and varied revelations of God, and by man's likeness to God, due to which man is able to comprehend these revelations, the highest form of which appears in the Incarnation of the Son of God and in the descent of the Holy Spirit. The third theme—Knowledge of God is possible under certain conditions, most important of which is a likeness to God, as "the like is known through the like". The fourth theme—Likeness to God is impossible without a mediator, that is, without the God-man, Jesus Christ. For "man cannot be saved from without, either by forgiveness, by instruction, by example, or by outside endowment, but by God's unity with man in Christ, overcoming all evil in them by divine-human strength." In developing this theme, the author leans primarily on the teachings of St. Athanasius, and introduces here an additional theme on the consubstantiality of man, as "unity with Christ is possible because all men are consubstantial". The fifth theme is an affirmation that

the necessary conditions for knowing God and for communion with God in general, i.e. the acquisition of certain moral virtues, are partly realized in the knowledge itself, through which we find special strength. This theme is variously developed in the chapters of the first part in accordance with the forms of revelation mentioned by the author. Thus, in the second chapter, the author mainly emphasizes the strength of divine names. He shows, very convincingly, that God, through His names, is close to man. "In the Old Testament, there are approximately one hundred names for God. Each one has its own meaning", he adds, "and all the theology of the Old Testament can be confined in them."

This study of the meaning of the divine names is one of Professor Verkhovsky's basic theological methods, which he also uses in his other works. This method is the pledge of the originality and vitality of his theology. In the third chapter, Professor Verkhovsky emphasizes above all the knowledge of God based on the Revelation of the Logos in the world and on the Incarnation of the Logos in the person of Jesus Christ, and also the strength of the Lord's words—Divine and human at the same time. The fourth chapter speaks of the strength of God confined in ideas and images; "All our ideas have not only a rational content, but also dynamic strength", writes Professor Verkhovsky, "and idea is not only a spiritual image, an object of knowledge, but it is also a way to perfect knowledge, therefore every true idea of God is valuable and here is the special value of patristic theology for together with the Scriptures and the greatest creations of human wisdom, it not only gives us information about God which we could passively remember, but it also opens an endless path to the knowledge of God". Clarifying his thoughts, the author (p. 161) points out in particular, how the contemplation of the idea of divine unity can give meaning to human unity and help realize it; while in another place he indicates the spiritual value of contemplation of Christ's sufferings. Here he brings in the words of St. Gregory of Nyssa, "He who contemplates the sufferings of Christ, will not be affected by the passion of lust."

The author also attaches great importance to the contemplation of beauty and in passing, he marks the principles of Christian aesthetics. The interdependence of knowledge (contemplation) and several moral conditions is based, according to the author, on the fact that in God Himself, the very knowledge leads to love, as according to the words of St. Gregory of Nyssa again, "The life of God is love, for this reason, that which is beautiful is worthy of love to those who know it, but the Divine knows itself, and consequently knowledge of Him becomes love". (p. 200). Professor Verkhovsky ties up many supplementary themes with the two main ones just mentioned in the first part of his book. For example, the theme of the inability to know God, the theme of human perfection, expressed in the striving for perfection, the theme of the image of God in man, and also of many single moral virtues which are essential for the knowledge of, and the contact with God. The theme of humility is developed with exceptional depth. Thus in this first part of the book, the basis of Christian gnoseology is shown. The main thought is that knowledge is to a certain extent communion with God made possible by continuous Revelation and man's striving, whether consciously or unconsciously towards God (towards Truth). Yet, according to the author, the specific nature of the knowledge of God does not exclude the religious character of any knowledge. The author lingers on the theme so dear to Russian theology, on the "sobornyi" corporate or catholic understanding of divine truths and on the meaning of the Church. He also indicates the dangers involved in theology. "Theology is not a goal in itself", he writes, "but a means for reaching the understanding of truth and perfect love. Theology must instill humility above all. If, however, we become arrogant in our knowledge, and if we adapt the truth to our own vices and inclinations,



or if we turn knowledge into scholasticism and snobism, then theology becomes pernicious" (p. 235). But on the other hand, according to the author, "There can be no higher praise of human creativity than the recognition that it brings us closer to God." In the light of such an idea, the author is ready to justify any cultural creation.

The second part of the book is the more interesting and the more important. There, Professor Verkhovsky states the basis of his own theology. In spite of the fact that he submits wholly to the Holy Scriptures and to Tradition (or maybe precisely because of this) he shows great originality in the best sense of the word. This originality lies in that in addition to the two principles usually discerned in God—*hypostasis* (person) and *ousia* (nature or content), he suggests a third one, life itself, and even a fourth principle, unity. By distinguishing these principles, the author deepens and crystallizes the traditionally recognised principles of *ousia* (or essence) and *hypostasis* (or person). The part on the personal principles is especially inspiring. The distinction of three or even four principles helps the author to develop the trinitarian theology extremely well. In particular, he very convincingly shows that the divine persons (*hypostasis*) differ from one another not in terms of precession only, because their person is "the beginning, the source or the object of relationship, but not relationship itself, for which reason no qualities can be identified with personality" (p. 283). These obvious oppositions undermine the very roots of Roman Catholic Trinitarian theology and especially the dogma of the *filioque*. As to the teachings about the unity of the Trinity, Professor Verkhovsky joins so to speak, the Russian theological tradition (God is the Trinity because He is love and love because He is the Trinity). It is quite impossible to indicate in this short review, even the fundamentals of an exceptionally well ordered theological system. It only remains to regret that he discloses it in such a semi-popular work, and to hope that it will appear in the form of a real treatise on dogmatic theology. One can believe, that after the test of criticism and some correction, his system will be accepted by the whole Orthodox world as a firm basis for all further theological works.

As already mentioned, a few objections could be made to the substance of this book. In particular, what the author writes about time is perplexing when one considers the works of Bergson, Askoldov and Berdyaev. The time which Professor Verkhovsky describes (p. 262) is the time which breaks existence into separate moments and segments, bound by the emptiness of non-being, (the space '*tems espace*' of Bergson or the 'fallen time' of Berdyaev). It is illusory and not ontological. But the author is right when he says that spiritual perfection, and every true creativity is an overcoming of this illusory "broken" time, and an ascent to that wholeness and to that unity of true being which is completely inherent only in eternity. By taking this "broken" time too much as an ontological reality, the author inevitably begins to describe non-being itself as a kind of being (for example the words 'non-being penetrates even space' p. 262, or 'non-being enters into and surrounds us', p. 271). Fortunately, these unexpected statements are only accidental and do not concern the principles of his theological system. It must also be pointed out that in the second part of the book, several questions often encountered by pastors or educators are very well clarified. "Is not God's omniscience a cruel predestination?" (p. 339, 340, 344). A distinction is made between the mutual giving of one's self by the Divine persons in the inner life of the Trinity and the inevitability of the agonizing sacrifice which is the destiny of love in its encounter with evil. Throughout the second part of the book, which is better organized than the first part, one may find a number of thoughts which one would like to write out for spiritual nourishment.

In conclusion, one may say that for those few who are predisposed to spiritual mediation, Professor Verkhovsky's book is undoubtedly an important event. However, for a professional theologian, the book is above all a promise which we believe will be fulfilled. The theologians expect from the author a kind of *summa* while the general reader expects a number of essays on more clearly defined subjects.

— REV. ALEXANDER SEMENOFF TIAN-SHANSKY

## SOLOVYOV IN GERMAN

DEUTSCHE GESAMTAUSGABE DEZ WERKE VON WLADIMIR SLOWJEW, HERAUSGEGEBEN VON WLADIMIR SZYLKARSKI, UNTER LEITUNG VON NIKOLAI LOSSKIJ, LUDOLF MULLER, WSEWOLOD SETSCHKARYOFF UND JOHANNES SCHEICH. *Vol. III and VII, Erich WeWel Verlag, Freiburg 1. B. 1954, 1955.*

A standard edition of Vladimir Solovyov in German translation complete in 8 volumes, of which, Volumes III and VII have now been published. The chief editor is Professor W. Szykarski of the University of Bonn, previously professor at the Universities of Kaunas and Dorpat, a graduate of the University of Moscow and a disciple of the great Russian philosopher Leo Lopatin. Professor Szykarski can be rightfully considered as the best living scholar on Wladimir Solovyov. Members of the editorial board are the leading Russian philosophers of our time, Prof. Nicholas Lossky and Prof. Setchkaryoff (he teaches Russian Literature and Culture at the University at Hamburg) and two German scholars. The translation is brilliant and fully adequate. The notes and commentaries are very instructive and sound. Vol. III is especially interesting as bringing the German translation of the French book of Solovyov, "La Russie et l'Eglise Universelle", the most important of Solovyov's ecclesiological pro-Roman writings. Vol. VII brings the writings of Solovyov on Theoretical Philosophy, his celebrated essay: "On the Meaning of Love" and his two chief writings on aesthetics, "Beauty in Nature" and "The Meaning of Art". Moreover a series of essays is dedicated to Russian poets. It is regrettable that the quotations from their poems have been practically left out by the translators (they could have been rendered in rhythmical prose).

It is a great and most useful work that is undertaken by Prof. Szykarski and his editorial committee. Wladimir Solovyov deserves that his complete works, not only a slender choice thereof, should be translated into a Western language. The example set by this brilliant and scholarly German edition will perhaps induce American publishers to follow the lead.

— NICHOLAS ARSENIIEV

DAS GEHEIMNIS DER BOSHEIT, *Antanas Maceina (Verlag Herder Freiburg, 1955, pp. 227).*

It is a detailed commentary on Solovyov's "Story of the Antichrist", a work that was and still is very popular in Germany. It was especially popular at Hitler's time, although almost forbidden. The author shows us in his introductory chapter, the strong change in Solovyov's historical outlook: at the beginning, he believed in progress in history, in peaceful evolution. In his last years, when he was writing his "Three Dialogues" and his "Story of the Antichrist" he came to believe in a catastrophical

end of the historical drama, the temporary triumph of evil (from the point of view of purely earthly success) and lastly in the final and decisive victory of God and the Advent of the Son of God as the end of history.

Solovyov's legend is studied and commented by the author on the background of the Christian teaching on the nature of evil and on the background of Christian Eschatology. The book is sound but rather popular in its exposition. It would also win through greater conciseness.

—NICHOLAS ARSENIIV

## TWO ORTHODOX THEOLOGIAN ON LAITY

THE SERVICE OF THE LAITY IN THE CHURCH, *Rev. Nicholas Afanassiev, Paris 1955, 79 pp. (in Russian).*

THE POSITION OF THE LAITY IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL BODY ACCORDING TO THE CANON LAW OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH, *Archimandrite Jeronimos Kotzonis, Athen 1956, 69. (in Greek).*

Within less than one year, two Orthodox theologians have expressed their views on the function of the Laity in the Church—a burning question whose theological and canonical clarification has been long overdue. The debate is not limited to the Orthodox Church; it is quite vivid in both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism (cf. the recent study by Father Confar O.P., “*Jalons pour une Theologie du Laicat*”, Paris 1953, pp. 683). But precisely because of the “trans-confessional” character of the whole theme (which is evidently motivated by the sociological, economical and other changes of our age) its treatment from an Orthodox standpoint was especially needed. For so far, the Orthodox seem to have followed rather uncritically the typically Western pattern, based on the opposition “clergy-laity”. The “Clerical” tendency (rights of the clergy) was challenged by the “lay” or even the “anti-clerical” one (rights of the laity). The time has come, however, to ask whether this pattern does not mutilate to a serious degree, the ecclesiological tradition of the Orthodox Church, and whether prior to any solution, we should not try to rediscover the Orthodox “dimensions” of the problem itself. It is at this preliminary but necessary stage that the two books under review seem to make a very valuable contribution.

Father Nicholas Afanassiev is professor of Canon Law at the St. Sergius Theological Institute in Paris. His numerous works unfortunately are almost unknown outside a narrow circle of Russian-speaking theologians, yet, in the opinion of this reviewer, he has more than anybody else, contributed to a fresh rethinking of the basic principles of Orthodox ecclesiology, to its liberation from alien thought forms and categories.<sup>1</sup> Much of what he has written calls for discussion (his book on the Laity has aroused a real storm in Paris), but it is a fruitful challenge and its creative effects will be certainly felt in the future.

His presentation of the status of Laity in the Church cannot be isolated from the broader ecclesiological views, expressed in his previous books. Ultimately, this view can be reduced to one negation and one affirmation. The negation concerns all the interpretations of the church order in terms of “jus”, any juridical and legalistic reduction of ecclesiology. The “jus” does not belong to the essence of the Church because Church is grace. But to Fr. Afanassiev, this negation of “jus” has not the meaning it had for R. Sohm—that of a radical incompatibility of grace and institution (the latter being necessarily based on “jus”). On the contrary: in Fr. Afanassiev’s



view, the Church is by necessity and nature an order, a structure, an institution. But this order is the order of grace, this structure is "ordered" by the Holy Spirit. The Church life in its institutional form is ordered directly by God through the Spirit, so that nothing can be left to the order of "jus", for it would mean an alienation and the insufficiency of grace. It is in other terms, the affirmation of the sacramental essence of the church order founded and expressed above all in the Eucharist, the "institution" which eternally reveals its real nature and goal: edification of the Body of Christ, of the People of God in the Holy Spirit.

With these presuppositions in view, we can understand Fr. Afanassiev's analysis of the status of Laity. His starting point is the notion of "Laos tou Theou", the people of God, this notion being the only valid basis for the understanding of what "lay" means. The Church is the "laos", the people called, elected and sanctified by God in Christ through the Holy Spirit. Therefore all members of it are "laikoi"—in the deepest sense of the word, as partakers of the grace of the "laos". Yet, this "laos" as a whole has a *priestly nature*, constitutes the "Royal Priesthood". The whole church is "hierateuma hagian" (*I Pet. 2,5,9,10*), and all its members are "basileis kai hiereis" (*Rev. 1,6*). In the Old Testament, the priesthood was a separate order within the chosen people, and the people had no access to the Sanctuary. In Christ the whole people partake in His priesthood: they constitute the spiritual temple, offer the spiritual sacrifices. The Church as a whole is both lay (laos) and clerical as the "clerus"—the part of God.

The distinction of "clergy" and "laity" in the modern acceptance of the words cannot therefore be of ontological nature. It is *functional*. The very nature of the Church requires a differentiation of functions. The Church is an organism in which each member has his own function, but all functions are equally necessary for the life of the organism and all the "pneumatic", i.e. require a special gift, a "charisma" of the Holy Spirit. One cannot speak of "degrees of grace", because grace has no degrees, "God giveth not the Spirit by measure" (*John 3,34*) and of "His fulness have we all received and grace for grace" (*John 1,16*). "All have the same pneumatic nature and no one in the church can by nature be higher than the other, although he can fulfill a function that is higher than all the other functions, and no one can act outside or independently of all the others" (p. 13). It is impossible to discuss here even briefly the analysis by Fr. Afanassiev of the long process which ultimately transformed the "lay" into the "worldly" (Russian translation of the word "laikos") or the "anieros" (the one alien to the sacred order). "What a long road the Christian thought had to follow before it called "worldly" those whom St. Paul proclaimed to be fellow citizens with the Saints and of the household of God" (p. 16).

After a detailed description of the "ordination of the Laikos" (i.e. of the ecclesiological significance of the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and Eucharist), the author applies these general presuppositions to the three spheres of the ministry of the Church. He deals with a) the part of the Laity in the liturgical life of the Church (pp. 27-44), b) their part in the government of the Church (pp. 45-46) and c) their part in the "magisterium", the teaching function of the Church (pp. 57-66). It is here that Fr. Afanassiev's disagreement with the commonly accepted ideas becomes evident. It is commonplace today to think of the liturgical functions as constituting the proper and exclusive sphere of the clergy, whereas in the functions of government and teaching one usually sees a sphere open to laity, if not their sphere par excellence. Father Afanassiev thinks that the nature of the Church implies exactly the opposite view. It is in the Liturgy i.e. in the priestly function of the church that the participation of the laity is the most active. Father Afanassiev terms this participation *con-*

*celebration of the laos with the celebrant.* The function of clergy implies that of the laity, and although they cannot be confused, neither can exist or be fulfilled without the other. "The people serve God when it is united to the Bishop, and the Bishop fulfills his 'diakonia' when he is united to the people". (p. 64). The offering, the sacrifice, the prayer, are always those of the whole church, of all its members.<sup>2</sup> And they are always founded in the "Royal Priesthood" of the whole church. But in that concerns the two other functions—the government and the teaching, the laity are not concelebrants of the clergy. For these are precisely *the* functions of the clergy, their special charismata, their exclusive calling within the 'ecclesia' (*Eph. 4, 11-12; 1 Cor. 12-28*). "If the administration is a special gift of the Spirit which is not given to all, but to those called especially, it means that the people of God as a whole do not possess this gift" (p. 47). In this sphere the faithful have the 'charisma' of judging and probation. These are not juridical terms, but point to a special spiritual gift of testimony, of witnessing that what is being done by clergy is in agreement with the will of God. It is the *reception* by the people, by the church of the will and the truth of God through those who have the function of administering them. The administration of the Church is pastoral by its very nature, and therefore only those who have received the charisma of the pastoral function can fulfill it. The teaching also belongs to the clergy, but this applies only to the "Ministry of the Word", the proclamation of the Word of God to the Church, and does not exclude the possibility for all members of the church to teach each other, for the proper function of "theology" is precisely to judge, to probe and to receive the teaching as it is given by the ministers of the Word.

Lack of space prevents us from any discussion of Fr. Afanassiev's ideas. We thought our duty to inform those who are unable to read Russian about this extremely rich and challenging little book. A theologian can probably discover in it many subjects of disagreement and further discussion. But no one after reading it would deny that our present situation, in the heat of a discussion, which too often lacks elementary reference to the principles of Tradition and to the spirit of Orthodoxy, Father Afanassiev reminds us of something so vital and so essential that his book deserves the most serious consideration.

The approach of Father Kotsonis, although he follows the same general plan is quite different. In the first place, he limits his sources to canonical texts only. Therefore the laity is defined not in terms of the "laos", but in reference to the "clergy", the "non-clergy". He mentions of course the "royal priesthood" and the scriptural definition of all the members of the church as 'basileis kai hiereis', but without any special elaboration of the ecclesiological significance of these terms. Briefly, his treatment of the whole subject can be summarized as follows: the church is an organism in which both clergy and laity are essential parts or "orders". The difference between them is not in the degree of power, but in the degree of "diakonia". And in each function of the church, their relationship is necessarily that of difference and unity. Thus in the function of sanctification (sacramental and liturgical) the active role belongs to the clergy. But the priest "prays not as representative of the laity (antiposopos) or in replacement . . . but . . . with the people and because of the people" (p. 30). (Here a timely reminder that the canons prescribe the reading of the sacramental prayers 'meta phones'-aloud, p. 31). The people are "cooperating" (sympraxis) in the celebration of worship, they are not passive, but active. The same principle of difference and unity is applied to the spheres of Church government and teaching. The "diakonia tou logou", the ministry of the Word belongs to the clergy, but the laity have an active part in the defense of Orthodoxy, in religious education



and in theological clarification of the tradition. And, finally the same type of relationship is disclosed in the sphere of administration. But here much of the material, used by the author as canonical evidence seems of rather doubtful quality. Thus many of the modern forms of church government which are based on purely juridical principles of separation of powers can hardly be referred to as a canonical norm, but ought to be reconsidered themselves in the light of truly Orthodox ecclesiological and canonical tradition.

The two books are written in different theological 'languages' and from radically different theological standpoints. Father Kotsonis would probably not follow Father Afanassiev in his total rejection of the "jus", just as Father Afanassiev is not likely to accept many of Father Kotsonis' categories (two orders, degree of diakonia, etc.) But this is normal at this stage, for a real elaboration of Orthodox ecclesiology is at its very beginnings. This difference however makes even more remarkable the substantial agreement of the two theologians as to the status of laity in the church. For both it is rooted primarily in the mystery of the Church as the Body of Christ, whose only real principle of life is the Holy Spirit.

— REV. ALEXANDER SCHMEMANN

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1. For complete bibliography of Fr. Afanassiev's works, cf. "List of the Writings of Professors of the Russian Theological Institute in Paris, 1925-1954" pp. 44-45. The most important are: "The Lord's Meal", Paris 1952, 93 pp.; "The Eternal and Temporal Elements in the Canons of the Church" in "Living Tradition", Paris 1936; "Sacramentalia" in "The Orthodox Thought" Vol. 8., Paris 1951; "Membership in the Church", Paris 1952, 145 pp. All are in Russian.

2. This aspect has been especially elaborated by Fr. Afanassiev in "The Lord's Meal", Paris 1952.

## ECUMENISM AND THEOLOGY

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY, AN ECUMENICAL APPROACH, *Walter Marshall Horton, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1955, xii + 304 pp.*

Professor Horton has written an extremely useful book. It is indeed a truly ecumenical introduction to theology and a truly theological introduction to the ecumenical problem, i.e. to the basic issues which the Ecumenical Movement faces today. The plan and method of Dr. Horton's work is very simple: He takes the classical themes of Christianity one by one—the knowledge of God, God and the world, God and Man, the Nature of God, Christ the Savior, the Church and the Means of Grace, the Christian Hope—and applies the same three questions to each one of them: 1) "what is the universal ('ecumenical') human problem which underlies this topic in Theology?", "what is the universal ('Ecumenical') Christian answer to this problem, so far as the Christian Churches and schools of thought are now agreed?", 3) "what are the principal disagreements and conflicts which obscure the clarity of the Christian answer to this particular problem?". The answers include the main Christian confessions (from Roman Catholicism to the radical Free Churches) as well as the most important and representative of the contemporary "Schools of Thought". In presenting these answers Dr. Horton achieves a remarkable degree of objectivity and of something more important: such respect for positions obviously different from his own, that makes his work an ecumenical achievement in itself. The clarity and the simplicity of this book, the unique gift of Dr. Horton for distinction of the essential from the secondary, his masterly presentation of the *main lines*—all this concurs to make of the book much more than a manual, it is a real instrument for all those involved in the ecumenical activity.



It is well known that the Ecumenical Movement has, paradoxically enough, produced a real revival of 'confessionalism', i.e. a new interest of each denomination for its *sources*, a desire to return to them. It is certainly a positive fact, for it gives the ecumenical encounter its real theological depth. Yet in order to be 'ecumenical' and not 'sectarian', this confessionalism, this fresh study of sources and traditions must necessarily be undertaken against a realistic knowledge of the contemporary theological situation in its general ecumenical dimensions. It is to this need that the book of Dr. Horton fulfills and we must be thankful to him for the way he wrote it.

On many particular points one would like to have more detailed analysis. To give but one example, the very deep differences in the whole understanding of Mariology between the Roman Church and the Eastern Orthodox is not given a sufficient emphasis. But, of course, the size of the book made it impossible for Dr. Horton to give more than an inspiring introductory study, a guiding principle. The large section devoted to bibliography, references and questions will allow everyone to continue the study which Dr. Horton's book has so well introduced.

— REV. ALEXANDER SCHMEMANN

## THE GREEK THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW. *Easter Issue, Vol. II, No. 1, 1956, pp. 128. \$3.50 per year.*

A decade ago few observers of the American Church would have suggested that by mid-century Orthodoxy in the United States would be producing, albeit somewhat sporadically, two theological journals. The Easter issue of the journal of the Greek Seminary at Brookline is a delightfully balanced survey of Orthodox theology, philosophy, and culture. Four of the fourteen contributors have been teachers or students of St. Vladimir's.

The Dean, Bishop Athenagoras (Kokinakkis), contributes two editorials, four book reviews (Metropolitan Maximos on the Malabar Syrians, Anne Fremontle's *Treasury of Early Christianity*, a recent Greek plea for disciplinary reform, and a study of Cypriot culture), and his address, in ancient Greek, at the 1955 Matriculation service. The second editorial, *Orthodox Witness*, is particularly fine.

Father Stephanou defines Patristic philosophy in its Hellenic perspective, indicates its role in the Church, and defends it against the later western development which had broken with it, in an article entitled *An Orthodox Approach to Christian Philosophy*. Father Florovsky contributes a paper on Patristic Eschatology, which incidentally illustrates Stephanou's primary thesis, and reviews the 1951 Oxford Conference of Patristic scholars in *Notes and Reviews*. Father Romanides sympathetically analyses the Ecclesiology of Khomiakov from the French literature, points out deficiencies, and concludes that his abiding value lay in paving "the way for a return to the Fathers of the Church." Stanley Harakas summarizes the provocative criticism of contemporary secularism of Alexander Tsirintanis, a lay professor of Law at Athens, prompting a regret that Tsirintanis' major works are unavailable in English. The theology and technique of the icon are presented in papers by John Papajohn and Demetrios Dukas. One need not have read Professor Bratsiotis' *Ecclesiastes* to approve the competent and discriminating review of Mr. Zacharopoulos. John Rexine reviews Istavridis (Greek) biography of Professor John G. Panagiotides, and George Panichas reviews Bishop Athenagoras' English translation of the Akathist Hymn, and Constantine Cav-

arnos' *Byzantine Sacred Music*. George Bebis reviews a study of Christian monuments on the Island of Skiathos by John Frangoulas, and Father Timothy Andrews provides a bibliography of recent Church-related books, mostly Greek. The evaluation of Ruth Korper's *Candlelight Kingdom*, by John George, fails to identify it for what it is: an aesthetic appreciation of a charming, slightly fantastic, relic, which has no real existence outside of the Korper imagination; exactly what one would expect from an observer introduced to the Church by Nicholas Zernov, whose own Orthodoxy is certainly original and probably nominal.

The Very Reverend Gerasimos Papadopoulos article (Pp. 41-55), *The Revelatory Character of the New Testament and Holy Tradition in the Orthodox Church*, attempts to define the right relationship between Tradition and Scripture. It is impossible to give a fair summary of the essay in this space, but one cannot avoid the impression that Father's specialty, he is Professor of New Testament at Brookline, has given his presentation a somewhat one-sided character. The position of Tradition in Orthodoxy is of the greatest significance in the whole complex of her theology, and now has an especial importance in view of the current discussions outside of the Church. It is to be hoped that this article will stimulate a discussion resulting in a needed clarification.

— REV. WILLIAM SUTFIN SCHNEIRLA

## A NEW HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY

GESCHICHTE DER PHILOSOPHIE, *Johannes Hirschberger, Vol. I: ALTERTUM UND MITTELALTER, pp. vxi - 476; Voll. II: NEUZEIT UND GEGENWART, pp. xvii - 641, Verlag Herder, Freiburg i. Br. Second Edition, 1955 (First Edition: 1952 and 1949).*

This is a very useful book. The partly systematical, not only historical, way of its presentation of the subject, makes it especially valuable: it can be used by students, not only as an historical outline of the thought of individual thinkers and groups of thinkers, but also as an instructive survey of the development of the chief problems of philosophy. But there is a definite difference in the way of the presentation of the subject in volumes I and II. Vol. I, Ancient (i.e. Greek) and Medieval Philosophy—is perhaps too summary. Heraditos, for example, gets not quite two pages. The mystical traits of his thought — the touch of transcendency suddenly appearing in his doctrine of the immanent Logos — are left unheeded. Likewise, in the presentation of the doctrine of Plotinus the mystical ascension of the soul to God—the summit of his philosophy—is only just mentioned. This first volume ought to have been expanded into two volumes making it possible to dwell at greater length on those thinkers that have been presented a little too summarily. This is not the case with Plato: seventy-one, narrowly printed pages: The exposition is masterly and detailed. But it is perhaps *too static*. The dynamic quality of Plato's thought, rich in development, in dialectic movement and dramatic tension and presenting different ways of approaching the same subjects and even contradictory statements, this dramatic grappling of Plato with the ultimate problems of Reality, his shifting attitude between radical dualism and spiritualistic monism, the restlessness of his spirit and his attempt to revise again and again his previous solutions—this side of his spiritual personality, his spiritual alertness and keenness, which constitutes one most remarkable element of his greatness and depth as a thinker, this *dynamic* side (which has been so convincingly outlined e.g. by Rudolf Eucken in his book on The Great Thinkers and by Vladimir Solovyev in his famous essay, "The Drama of Plato") has not been sufficiently emphasized by the author; it

es outside the scope of his attention. On the other hand, the thought of Aristotle's, whose philosophical career does not present such inner tensions and dramatic struggles and contradictions as it is the case with Plato, is outlined by the Author with great skill and mastery.

Of the two volumes the second must be considered as especially valuable. It must be recommended with great warmth and emphasis. How brilliant and penetrating and instructive are the chapters dedicated to some nineteenth century thinkers and especially to the thinkers of our present times, e.g., the chapters on Kirkegaard (II, pp. 449-457), on Nietzsche (II, 457-482), on Bergson and Blondel (II, 519-530), on Nicolai Hartmann (II, 553-573), on Phenomenology (Husserl and Scheler: II, 541-551), on Existentialism (Jaspers, Heidegger, Sartre, Gabriel Martel, II, 573-590). The author, as we said already, is deeply interested, not only in the *history* of philosophical thought, but also in the *metaphysical issues* themselves, and this lends an inner weight and a true philosophical inspiration to his exposition of the subject. He often unites the philosophers into groups on the ground of their affinity and alongside with the characterization of individual thinkers, presents also general surveys of different currents of thought. He seems especially interested in problems of religious philosophy. Hirschberger's History of Philosophy is, therefore, especially valuable, not only for students of philosophy in general, but also for those who are interested in problems of religious thought. An excellent up-to-date bibliography and the lucid way of exposition makes the book very useful as a textbook. The book is a piece of first-rate scholarship and bears the mark of a broad-minded and well-balanced spirit of criticism, in the best sense of the word. It ought to be translated into English.

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